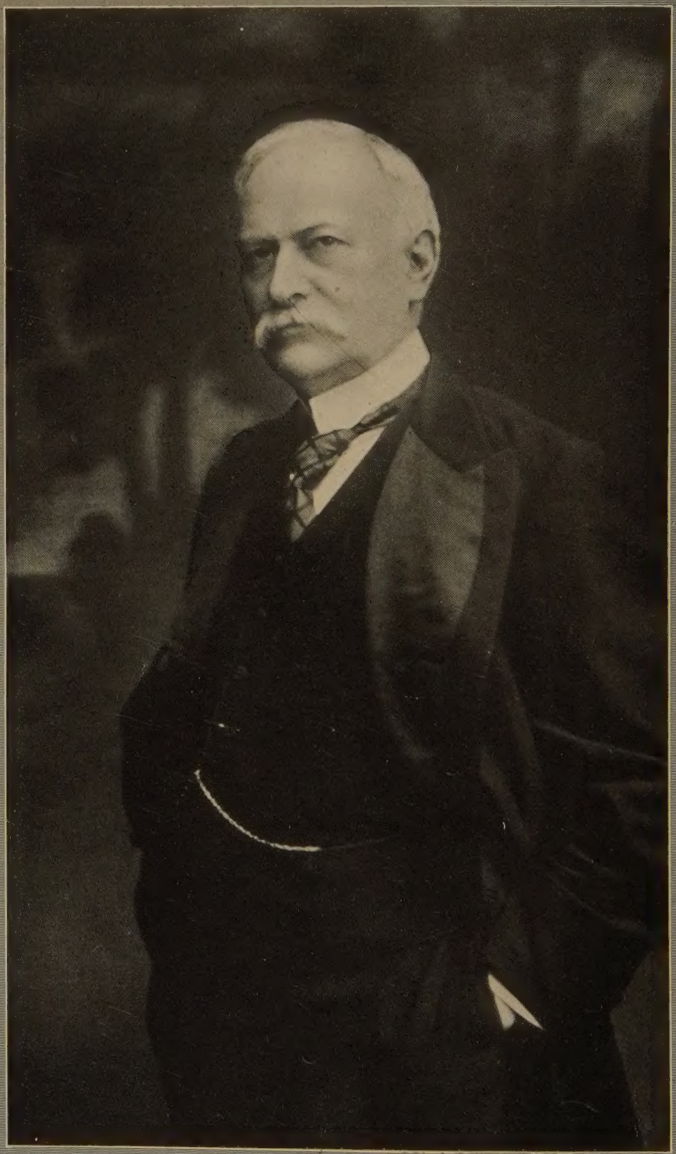
NOTES OF A BUSY LIFE

JOSEPH B. FORAKER



1908

NOTES OF A BUSY LIFE

BY

JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER

WITH PORTRAITS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME ONE

THIRD EDITION

CINCINNATI
STEWART & KIDD COMPANY
1917

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

TO

MY BELOVED WIFE AND CHILDREN

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

This third edition of these Notes differs from the first and second editions only in the addition of some foot-notes. No change has been made in the text as found in the second edition. The foot-notes are self-explanatory. They give at page 174, Volume I, some correspondence with Andrew D. White; at page 511, Volume I, correspondence with Governor Charles Foster about the first election of Senator Hanna to the Senate; at page 156, Volume II, effect of Panama Canal tolls question and some other matters on the result of the Presidential election; at page 211, Volume II, a quotation from an article printed in *Scribner's Magazine* on the effect of hostile legislation upon railroads; and at page 413, Volume II, a quotation from General Sheridan's Memoirs about General Slocum.

J. B. Foraker.

Cincinnati, O., November 18, 1916.

Since the foregoing preface was written the publication of this third edition has been unavoidably delayed until now. In the meanwhile, an opportunity having thus been presented, I have slightly added to the foot-notes cited above. On this anniversary of the Battle of Bentonville, (page 59 *et seq.*, Vol. I), as I turn this work over to the printers, I stop to note that the daily press advices are that the sinking, without warning, of three unarmed American ships by German submarines makes war inevitable; and that the Chiefs of the Brotherhoods have in almost the self-same moment won a final victory as the sequel to the strike discussed in the foot-note on page 156a *et seq.*, Vol. II.

There will be the usual well nigh universal rejoicing that labor is to receive an increased reward, but the minds of all thoughtful men will be filled with deep and serious con-

cern as to what is to be the effect on our form of government, when it is thus shown that the President, the Congress, and the Supreme Court, if not acting, all of them, under actual duress, are yet acting under such circumstances as to justify and make plausible to all, and conclusive to many, the charge that they have been so influenced.

There is at least good ground for grave apprehension that this labor disturbance, the manner in which it has been handled and the results that have been accomplished, make a chapter of precedents of the most menacing character. They are second, if second at all, in dangerous importance to the war itself, as to which I would be glad to record here many impressions I have as to responsibility for the present situation; but for the time being we must be content with the thought that it is the duty of every American citizen, whether by birth or naturalization, to stand solidly, unitedly, determinedly, for our country, and vie with each other to make successful, under the leadership of our duly constituted authorities, the efforts they may put forth for our National safety and honor.

It is a distressing outlook, but there is some consolation in knowing that many students of Bible prophecies believe that we are nearing the close of the Christian dispensation; that this frightful war is probably the last; that we are now passing through the experiences foretold by the Revelator as found recorded in that great Book when the seventh seal was loosed; and that the beginning of this conflagration that has spread over Europe and is now extending to the rest of the world, including ourselves, is the fulfilment of what was to happen when the sixth angel sounded; that while the armies marshaled and marshalling are the two hundred thousand thousand of whom one-third are to be killed by the fire, smoke and brimstone issuing out of their mouths, yet the day is approaching when the slain will be buried and the weapons of war will be destroyed and the Devil will be bound for a thousand years.

J. B. Foraker.

March 19, 1917.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

In the preparation of this work the end of the text was reached on the 12th day of August, 1915, and it was there, Volume two, page 478, so recorded, but in printing the first edition this date was erroneously placed at the end of the preface which was not written until December 14, 1915.

Although this error was of but little moment yet, in order to conform strictly to the facts, I have taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by the printing of a second edition to correct it and a few others of like minor importance, chiefly typographical.

No other changes have been made except to add two or three short foot-notes that need no explanation.

J. B. Foraker.

March 23, 1916.

PREFACE

I WAS a candidate at the Ohio primary election held August 11, 1914, for nomination as the Republican candidate for United States Senator, but was defeated. I recognized that as a result my political career was ended, and that an opportune time had come to answer affirmatively and in a practical way the oft-repeated request of my family and friends that I should some time write a sketch of my public life and services. I acted upon that thought.

What is now presented is intended primarily for their benefit. I know they will read and appreciate it. In view of the fact that I have written about past events in which there is no present interest, and on account of the exciting European War news now filling the newspapers and magazines and absorbing everybody's attention, I doubt if many others will, but that thought, although in mind, has had no influence in preparing these notes, because I have never thought of my work as a money making venture, and am not, therefore, concerned about the question whether or not it will prove a "good seller."

Except to give a brief account of my boyhood, service in the Union Army, and my school days, of which my family had no personal knowledge, I have confined myself to my public life and the leading events connected therewith.

Although I have had to divide time with professional engagements, and other labors; and although my family and I have been overtaken and sorely distressed in the midst of my work by sickness, sorrow, pain and death, yet by diligent effort I have found enough odd hours "between times" to live over again by the help of scrap books and other records the important incidents of fifty years of busy

life, and once more walk and talk with the friends of former days.

The average reader may think I have quoted too freely—in some cases at even tiresome length—from my various speeches, especially those with respect to Cuba, the Philippines, Statehood, the Rate Bill, the Brownsville Affray and other subjects.

I have done this because that was easier, and seemed better than to rewrite what was thus covered, since in that way might be presented not only the facts and arguments used, but also the spirit involved. Relatively these quotations are comparatively brief—not extended beyond what has seemed necessary to give an intelligent idea of the discussions to which they relate.

Necessarily much has been left untold, but enough will be found in these pages to give any careful reader of them an intelligent idea of not only what I did with respect to matters at the time deemed important but also to give a correct idea of the thoughts and circumstances by which that action was prompted and governed.

This work has been a severe tax on my time and strength, not so much to write the story I have told as to verify the facts and collect and arrange and set forth accurately and logically the data I have used.

Compared with the indescribably tragic, serious, and world menacing European war the record I have portrayed shrinks into insignificance as to its importance, and yet as I look back over it I am amazed at its volume—how much there is of it—and am compelled to wonder how I was able to do the work it represents, especially the Senatorial part, considering the many other duties that fell to my lot.

I have made many speeches that I have not mentioned at all; among them memorial addresses upon the life and public services respectively of General Grant, General Sherman, Chief Justice Chase,* Hon. John A. Bingham, General William H. Gibson, and the Andrews Raiders.* It would be agreeable, except for time and space, to say something

* Printed in the Appendix.

about them and the interesting occasions in connection with which they were delivered, but at this time that seems impossible.

Most of them will be found in a number of the leading libraries of the country, bound together with such of my speeches as have been printed in pamphlet form.

I acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss Caroline Hein for her faithful and efficient work in taking and transcribing these notes, reading the proof, preparing the index and verifying the letters and other documents quoted.

J. B. Foraker.

Cincinnati, December 14, 1915.

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NOTES OF A BUSY LIFE

CHAPTER I.

OUTLINE.

I WAS born July 5th, 1846, on a farm situated about one mile north of the village of Rainsboro, Highland County, Ohio, on which my father was at that time residing.

When I was only two years old my father removed from there to a farm he had purchased at Reece's Mills on the Rocky Fork of Paint Creek, midway between Rainsboro and the village of Marshall, three miles from each.

I have never revisited the first home, but saw the house frequently from the main road, back from which it stood at a distance of perhaps a quarter of a mile, as I had occasion to pass and repass. In that way I know that the house was a good-looking, comfortable-appearing, commodious two-story log structure, such as was commonly found on the farms in that part of the country at that early day. I mention this only because in some manner a picture of an old, single-room, dilapidated-looking log house, was published, many years ago, as a picture of the house in which I was born, and although repeated efforts were made to correct the error, the same old picture has ever since been persistently used.

The family residence on the farm at Reece's Mills was of the same general character, except that ample porches and a good sized "yard" improved the general appearance and added much to the comfort and accommodation of the family.

Sometime during the fifties, probably about 1855, my father built within the same enclosure what was for that time a rather pretentious one-and-one-half-story frame house, which made one of the best residences to be found in that neighborhood. This continued to be the family home until after the close of the Civil War, when, about 1870, as nearly as I can now recall, my father sold his farm and moved to Hillsboro, which, with the exception of two or three years spent on what is known as the old Daniel Miller farm, situated on the turnpike leading from Hillsboro to Rainsboro, continued to be his residence until his death in 1898.

The residence at Reece's Mills was my home until the fall of 1861, when I left the farm to take a clerical position with my uncle, James Reece, in the County Auditor's office, in Hillsboro, where I remained, living with his family, until July, 1862, when I enlisted as a private in Company A, 89th O. V. I.

I served until the close of the war, when I became a student; was graduated from Cornell University, and admitted to the practice of the law in 1869; elected Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati in 1879, Governor of Ohio, 1885, re-elected 1887, elected United States Senator, 1896, re-elected, 1902.

It will be my endeavor to tell something of the life of which these dates and facts are the mere skeleton.

I do not know much about my ancestry. The most I know is what I have heard my father and mother repeat. I know from them that my grandfather on my father's side was named "John," and that his name was always during his lifetime spelled "Fouracre." He is buried in what is known as Hartman's Graveyard, near Rainsboro, and I have been told that on his tombstone his name is given as John Fouracre. I know from my father that his father brought him to Ohio in 1820, when my father, who was born June 7th, 1815, was but five years of age; that although of that tender age when he left it, he had until the day of his death a distinct recollec-

tion of the appearance of his birthplace when they started on their journey to the then far distant West; that his father was a farmer, and that his home at the time when he changed his residence to Ohio was on Bombay Hook Island in Delaware Bay.

I do not know much about my grandfather on my father's side, except that he was a plain, simple, but sturdy kind of man, and that his ancestors came, according to family traditions, from Devonshire, England, where I understand the Fouracre family is still represented.

My grandmother, on my father's side, was of Scotch-Irish descent, and her maiden name was Robinson. I have no recollection of having ever seen my grandfather, but I can remember my grandmother. She lived until I was probably seven or eight years of age, and one of the distinct and pleasing recollections I have of my early childhood is of catching a large ringeye, or rock bass, fish just below the mill dam in the Rocky Fork at Reece's Mills, and going with my father in a buggy to Rainsboro to deliver it in person to my grandmother, who, as I recall her, was an old lady of very pleasing appearance and cordial manner, particularly so when we told her what had brought us, and delivered to her the fish. I have no other personal recollection of her except of her funeral, which occurred some years later.

I know little more of my ancestors on my mother's side, and what I do know is likewise simply traditional. Her maiden name was Reece. The name of her father, my grandfather on her side, was David Reece. His father's name was David Reece.

The Reeces came to Ohio some time during the early years of the nineteenth century from Grayson County, Virginia. They settled at Reece's Mills, and my mother's grandfather located the mill site and erected thereon what was known for many years as Reece's Mills. He also acquired the farm adjoining, which was subsequently purchased, as already stated, by my father and made by him

our family home. At the same time that he acquired the farm my father acquired also the mill property, consisting of the flour mill and a saw mill, all at that time in good condition and in full operation.

The Rocky Fork of Paint Creek was not a very large stream, but a stone dam thrown across it at the mill site made a good body of water for swimming and fishing in the summer and skating in the winter time.

My mother's grandfather, after locating the mill site and building and putting into operation the mills, in some way lost his eyesight. I have frequently heard my mother tell how he delighted to narrate to the family his early experiences, and how, among other things, he told them that the fish in the creek where he established his mill were so thick when he first came there he could stir them with a stick. This was perhaps an exaggeration, but pardonable in view of the exaggerated stories that fishermen are permitted to tell.

My grandfather David Reece was, according to all accounts, a very excellent man. He served for many years as a Justice of the Peace and represented his county a number of times in the State Legislature. He was widely known throughout the State and highly esteemed and regarded by everyone. He was overtaken with some kind of illness from which he died before he reached the age of sixty years. He left six children, one of whom was my uncle James Reece, who was elected to various county offices, among them the office of County Treasurer, County Auditor, and to various municipal offices. I have many pleasing recollections of him and owe him probably a greater debt of gratitude than I owe to any other man, except only my father, and my brother Burch, because of the encouraging interest he manifested at all times in my welfare. It was through his advice and encouragement very largely that I determined when I came home from the army to get a collegiate education, and to adopt the law as a profession. It is with much satisfaction I recall that I was able in later

THE OLD MILL.

years to repay him in some small measure for the much that he so generously did for me at a critical and needful time. He had five sisters, my mother, whose name was Margaret, and her four sisters, all of whom were happily married and had comfortable homes.

My father and mother were married on the 28th day of March, 1838. They lived to celebrate their Golden Wedding Day, and to have ten added years of life together.

My father died on the 11th day of May, 1898, at the age of eighty-three years, lacking only a few days, and my mother followed him a little more than one year later, in July, 1899, at the age of seventy-nine. There were born of this marriage eleven children; two of them, a brother and a sister, died in infancy. Of those who grew to man and womanhood only good could be spoken, but only one of them had any particular influence upon my life, and for that reason I may not find occasion to make special mention of any of the others in these notes.

If it were otherwise I might say much about my brother, James R. Foraker, who was a member of the Cincinnati bar, who was for some years Assistant City Solicitor, and who had been my law partner for many years when he died in 1907.

I might say even more of my youngest brother, Creighton M. Foraker, who became a citizen of New Mexico in 1883 with his brother, Charles E. Foraker, and has continuously lived there ever since. He served four successive terms as United States Marshal for that territory. His appointment in each instance was made on the recommendations and requests of his neighbors and friends, without any solicitation from me, although our relations were of the most affectionate character. He received the first appointment from President McKinley, the second and third from President Roosevelt, and the fourth from President Taft. The following correspondence shows how President Taft came to pay him the unusual compliment of a fourth successive appointment.

I insert it not only on that account, but also because it shows how, after a disagreeable interruption, friendly relations were restored between President Taft and myself:

Cincinnati, December 23, 1909.

Dear Mr. President—My brother stopped off here yesterday on his way back to New Mexico. He told me of your kind references to me in his conversations with you in New Mexico and in Washington. He also told me that he had stopped here to tell me of them with your knowledge and approval. I infer from this that you will not misunderstand me if I write, as I do, to express my appreciation for what you have said of me personally and for what you have done in reappointing my brother. While I did not feel at liberty to join in recommending him for reappointment, I am none the less gratified on that account, but all the more, rather, that you should have found his record worthy of the unusual recognition of a fourth term.

With all the compliments of the season, and wishing for your administration the highest degree of success, I remain,

Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.

Hon. William H. Taft,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

The White House,
Washington.

December 25, 1909.

My Dear Senator—It gratified me very much to be able to reappoint your brother. By inquiry of every one who had to do with his office, I found that he had discharged his public duties in a way most satisfactory to those who were interested in the proper administration of justice, and that the only complaint made of him was that he didn't take an active part in the factional politics of the Territory. I could not see that this was a reason for failing to recognize his excellence as a public officer, and I had much pleasure in bringing the chief political powers in the Territory to believe that it was wiser for them to acquiesce in his appointment. I need not say that it was a very great additional pleasure to appoint him, that he was your brother.

Very sincerely yours,

Wm. H. Taft.

Hon. J. B. Foraker,
Traction Building,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

The one referred to above as having had some special influence upon my course in life was my brother, Burch Foraker. He was five years older than I, and had a corresponding influence on all my actions and ambitions. I not

only sought to emulate all he did, but I looked to him as though to a father, especially during our service in the army.

He enlisted in Company I of the 24th O. V. I., the second company recruited in Highland County; the first being Company K of the 12th O. V. I. I enlisted one year later in Company A, 89th O. V. I. Most of our service was in the Army of the Cumberland, and we had opportunities to see each other frequently. This experience and these chance meetings, and the interest always shown by him in my life, health and safety created an attachment for him stronger than that which even brothers ordinarily have.

CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOD.

UNTIL I had passed by three months my fifteenth birthday I lived at home with my parents and the other members of our family, on the farm at Reece's Mills.

My lot was not different, or my experiences, from those of other farmer boys of that day and locality.

My father was a pushing, active, restless, aggressive man in all he undertook to do, whether farming, milling or trading, in all of which he was busily engaged during that period.

His farm was well stocked with horses, cows, cattle, sheep and hogs, and there was always plenty of work that a boy could do in helping to feed and take care of them. In addition there was always more work to do in plowing, sowing, harvesting and hauling to market, than he and all the "hands" he employed, and he gave employment liberally, could do. Consequently from the earliest moment that I was old enough and big enough to do such work until I quit the farm I was constantly engaged at some one or other of the many different kinds of work that was to be done, except when attending school, which amounted to three or four months during the winter session in the District School.

That school was not so good as such schools now are, but I managed to learn how to spell, read, write and "cipher," and found out something about grammar, geography, algebra, etc.

I was always fond of reading, especially history,—particularly war history.

I early acquired pretty familiar knowledge of our own history, and our own wars with England, Mexico, and the frontier wars with the Indians, and the Napoleonic wars,

and in a general way of the wars of antiquity, especially the wars of Rome and Greece.

I developed also from the beginning an aptitude for declamation. I remember at one school exhibition I recited as many as seven different pieces. I recall only two of them, "Rienzi's Address to the Romans," and "Henry V at Harfleur,"—rather ambitious specimens, but well enough delivered to excite a great deal of praise and commendation.

At the same time my good mother had much to do with my reading; especially what might be called Sunday reading. The reading she enjoined embraced, first, the Bible, then John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Josephus, and other books of like character.

My father and mother were both active and devout members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and regular attendants upon all the different services. All the family were required to attend with them, and it was very rare indeed that any of us missed attendance upon either the regular church service or Sunday school.

We not only attended Sunday school, but we actively participated in all the exercises. I remember that during one summer when I was only ten or twelve years of age I committed to memory and recited to my Sunday school teacher 1,396 verses of the New Testament, and was awarded the first prize therefor, a small-sized New Testament, bound with a rather fine-looking red leather. The book seemed very beautiful, and was, for that day, and I was quite proud of the fact that I had taken the first prize, and that I was given such a reward.

But it was not all work and study and reading. There were rainy days, and holidays, and Saturday afternoons, and other "between times" when we had a chance to swim, attend celebrations, and other public occasions, and now and then go fishing, or take a hunt in the fields and woods of the farm for squirrels, rabbits and quail.

I became and was known all through the neighborhood as one of the most expert swimmers, and as a good horseman,—it was a perfect delight to "break a colt."

I also soon developed a fondness for fishing in the creek that ran through the farm, and on which the mill stood. I came by this taste naturally. My mother had it in a large degree. It was her delight when she could get away from her household duties to stroll along the creek and fish at some one of a number of favorite places she was pleased to visit. On such occasions I was always her favorite companion. We seldom returned without a long string of good fish. These hours with my mother are among the most pleasant that I am able to recall, not only of that boyhood period, but from all the other years of my life.

In later years I have fished considerably, but never yet that I have not been reminded of those days, and when lucky, had much pleasure in thinking how my dear mother would have enjoyed it, if she could have been with me.

As early as 1856 I became greatly interested in politics. In connection with the acts of the "Border Ruffians" of Kansas, and other efforts that were made to extend slavery into the territories, the political literature of that time became exciting and intensely interesting.

Our family paper during that period was the Cincinnati *Weekly Gazette*. It was then the leading Republican organ of the West. It was ably edited. I found time to read and discuss in a boy's weak way with my father and Mr. Samuel E. Newell, the miller, who operated the mill, all the current events, speeches and arguments.

During the campaign of 1856 I became so enthusiastic that although only ten years of age, I went to the woods and selected a tall, straight young tree of proper size, cut it, and with some help that I enlisted, brought it to the top of a small hill in the lane leading from our house out to the public road, and there planted it with a flag of my own manufacture, unfurled at the top of it, bearing the names of Fremont and Dayton. That was the only flag so displayed in all that neighborhood. Naturally it was much talked about, my name being always mentioned in connection with it.

"IN LATER YEARS I HAVE FISHED CONSIDERABLY."

Later when the election came, and Fremont and Dayton were defeated, I suffered my first disappointment in politics. It was one of the greatest and bitterest I have ever experienced. It was difficult for me to become reconciled to it; but it was not long until, like many other defeats and disappointments I have since suffered, I came to see that it was all of God's ordering and for the best.

I continued to read carefully, watch closely and to keep in constant touch with the old miller, who was my friend, adviser and guide, beyond anybody else with respect to public and political matters.

After Fremont was defeated I became an enthusiastic supporter of Seward, as our next candidate for the Presidency. I was always praising him and advocating him. I thus championed him until Mr. Lincoln made a speech in Cincinnati about 1858 or '59. It was so clear, simple and straightforward, and so easily understood and so persuasive, that it completely captured me. After reading it I repaired at once to the miller to talk it over with him. He liked the speech but was still for Seward.

We were talking the matter over in a friendly way when one of our neighbors, Judge Nathaniel Delaplane, a most estimable man, very intelligent, very cultivated, and well informed, but one of the leading Democrats of that vicinity, rode up to the door of the mill near which we were standing. Noting the character of our conversation, he made a remark of a rather deprecating character about my views on such matters, at which the old miller took offense. In a somewhat resentful manner he picked me up in his arms, and, holding me out toward the Judge, told him in an earnest, energetic tone to take a good look at me, for some day I would be Governor of Ohio. That was my first nomination. I little thought then that any such honor would ever come to me, but when years afterwards I was nominated and elected Governor of Ohio, this incident was still remembered in that neighborhood; naturally it soon had currency in the campaign. Both the Judge and the old miller lived to see the prediction fulfilled, and although I probably did not get

the vote of the Judge, I am sure he bore me only good will and rejoiced in a non-partisan way that the miller's prediction, although made in a spirit of resentment, had come true.

During the campaign of 1860 I was only fourteen years old, but I attended every important political meeting held in the county seat, Hillsboro, or at any point in our eastern part of Highland County.

I not only listened to the speeches, but marched in the processions with the other "rail splitters" by day and with the "wide awake torch bearers" by night.

I remember one incident of that campaign that had an effect upon me years afterward, when I had occasion to make campaign speeches. I heard at Rainsboro one night a very eloquent speech. I was so pleased with the orator, whose speech seemed so natural, so instructive and so well illustrated with anecdotes, that I went to hear him the following night, when he spoke at Marshall, six miles distant from Rainsboro. He probably thought, the two places being this distance apart, that he had an entirely different audience, but I was at least one who was at both places, and there were probably others. However that may be, although he was a man of ability and resourceful, who might have said something new, he made exactly, word for word, the same speech from beginning to end that he had made the night before, and told the same anecdotes in precisely the same way.

I was so disappointed at not hearing anything new from him that I never forgot the lesson, and in after years, when making campaign speeches and when speaking even two or three times a day, and sometimes oftener, I always tried to have something new each time I spoke; not alone something new in subject matter, but also something new in form of expression in presenting the same topics, something new in anecdotes if I saw fit to illustrate in that way, something that would show some versatility, and be of some interest to the man who might have heard me the night before, or at some other time during the campaign.

It was sometimes hard to do so, but I always felt better when I struck some new chord or advanced some new thought

SAMUEL E. NEWELL, THE OLD MILLER.

I had not previously presented. By watching the newspapers and reading them closely, I usually found it easy to thus vary my remarks, and yet be always discussing the same general subjects.

I remember that once—I cannot now give the date, except that it was, I think, while I was Governor—ex-President Hayes, Major then, but afterwards President McKinley, and I were lunching together at the St. Nicholas Hotel in Cincinnati, when in some way this subject came up for comment, and that ex-President Hayes surprised both of us by advising us to make always the same speech everywhere we went, except as we might have occasion to make allusions to local events or circumstances, or some new event or fresh occurrence; all on the theory that every audience we addressed was entitled to the very best speech we could make, and that if we carefully prepared a speech and committed it to memory, it would be better, as a rule, at least, than anything new that we might say extemporaneously, or without careful consideration or studious selection of the language in which we should express ourselves. There might be much said along the line of the ex-President's observations, but I have always felt stronger, and at least thought I was more forcible, persuasive and efficient when I was not tied to any set phrases, and did not have to tax my mind to remember mere words.

I think this has been the experience of most public speakers; at least it has been so far as I have heard them make expressions on the subject.

During these boyhood years I made many acquaintances and friendships that I have never forgotten but have always prized highly through all the busy years of a long life.

Among them may be mentioned the Honorable Thomas M. Watts, who has been a prominent and useful citizen, filling most creditably a number of important public offices, among them that of State Senator from his Senatorial district, and Judge of the Probate Court of Highland County. We were schoolmates in a district school taught by his father. He was always studious, kind-hearted, true and loyal, and faithful in all his duties, both public and

private. He had two brothers, Roderick L. Watts and Theophilus, both of them splendid men of the same type, and both of them most excellent teachers. At different times I attended their schools, and was always greatly profited by their teachings. They lived long and useful lives and were highly esteemed and honored by all who knew them.

Another dear friend was a blind man, Alfred Skeen. He lived on a farm adjoining my father's farm. He was always so patient, and so thoughtful, and so sound in judgment that I came early to esteem and highly appreciate his friendship and companionship.

When disposed to be impatient over some disappointment that befell me I always thought of Alfred Skeen and tried to accept whatever had happened, without complaint, because his misfortunes were so much greater than mine or those of most people. His example of never complaining was so impressive that anyone who observed it never failed to be profited by it.

In the way indicated the years passed until the time came in October, 1861, for me to quit the farm. It came unexpectedly and without anything being done on my part, or on the part of any of my family to bring it about. Two or three years before that date my Uncle James Reece had been elected County Auditor of Highland County and had given a clerical position in his office at Hillsboro to my brother Burch, who during the time of his service with him lived with him in his family. He was a faithful, careful, industrious, painstaking brother, dearly beloved as such not only by all the members of the family, but by everybody else who knew him.

No one was surprised when my uncle gave him a position in his office, and took him to live with his family as a member of it. As already mentioned, he was five years older than I, and, therefore, old enough to enlist at the breaking out of the war. This he did in Company I, 24th Regiment, O. V. I. He thus vacated his place in the office, but my uncle did not at once fill it. He in common with almost every one else entertained the opinion that the war would not be of long duration, and that my brother might soon

return to take his place with him again. He, therefore, held it open for him until in October, at which time he tendered it to me.

I still remember as though only yesterday, how my father came to me with a letter to him from my uncle, telling him that he would have to fill my brother's place, and that he wanted to give it to me; and how he thought it would be of great advantage to me to hold it until my brother's return.

I remember, too, that I was greatly surprised, and that I doubted my qualifications for the place, and my ability to fill it with anything like such acceptability as my brother had filled it, and, therefore, feared I would suffer by comparison in my uncle's estimation if I accepted his offer.

My uncle was one of the most kind, thoughtful and affectionate of men. He had apparently foreseen how I might feel about it, and, therefore, in his letter had anticipated all my objections and answered them so as to remove from my mind any serious doubt as to my duty to accept the place, which I did to my father's very great satisfaction; for while recognizing that I was not well prepared for such duties, yet he had confidence in my ability to learn and to become efficient and helpful, and also had confidence that the experience would be of great value to me in preparing me to make a start in life, when sooner or later it would be necessary for me to do so.

My father also realized that it would be of great advantage to me to live with my uncle in his family and have the opportunity that would be thus presented to become acquainted with the kind of life people lived in the important county seat cities and towns, where they had more culture and refinement than those of us enjoyed who at that time lived on the farms.

Accordingly I quit the dear old farm,—every field and hill and hollow and tree and spring and brook of which was like a friend of many years standing,—and took up my abode with my uncle, and entered upon my duties as a clerk in the County Auditor's office.

I remained there, living with his family and working in the office, until July 14, 1862, when I, too, enlisted in

Company A, 89th Regiment, O. V. I. The Union cause had not been progressing very favorably. We had lost a number of important battles. The outlook was full of doubt and trouble. Every one then realized that the war would probably be of long duration, and that thousands, even hundreds of thousands, additional troops would be needed to suppress the rebellion. The impression prevailed everywhere that every man able to carry a gun should be at the front. Under such circumstances my uncle rather reluctantly and yet patriotically and resignedly acquiesced in my determination to enlist.

I gave up my place and in a few weeks was off to the front, there to remain until the close of the war. The ten months spent in Hillsboro, living in my uncle's family, and doing clerical work in the Auditor's office, proved of great benefit and advantage to me in the new duties I was to undertake, as well as in all the years of my subsequent life.

I made during this period great improvement in my penmanship, but the most valuable thing that I acquired was the knowledge of how the public business of the county was conducted.

My duties brought me in contact with the County Commissioners, who held their meetings in the Auditor's office, and for whose Board the County Auditor, or his clerk (myself), always acted as secretary.

In the same way I was brought in contact with the County Treasurer, for whom we made up the tax duplicates on which he collected the revenues out of which the expenses of the county government were paid.

Although not brought into immediate contact with them, I soon became acquainted with the Prosecuting Attorney, the Probate Judge, the Sheriff, and the Clerk of the Court, and had an opportunity to see something of the administration of justice when the Common Pleas Court was in session. All this was intensely interesting to me.

It was my first glimpse of the life of a government.

Of this part of my boyhood days I have not only a pleasing but a most appreciative recollection.

CHAPTER III.

IN THE ARMY.

MY enlistment came about unexpectedly. On my way home from Sunday school July 13, 1862, I happened to fall into the company of William H. Glenn, who was the local agent at Hillsboro of our only, at that time, railroad, and who was a near neighbor to my Uncle James Reece, with whom I was living.

He was a man well known and highly esteemed and I had become pretty well acquained with him during the time I had lived near him.

We frequently met as we were passing back and forth to and from our respective homes and places of business.

The war had then been in progress more than a year. The Union forces had met with some disastrous reverses, of which Bull Run and Ball's Bluff were examples, and had achieved only enough success to keep the loyal people of the North from becoming discouraged.

Fort Donelson and "Unconditional Surrender" Grant came just in time to give renewed confidence and hope to the friends of the Union throughout all the Northern States.

Shiloh was also reassuring, but it was so bloody and the reports that our troops had been surprised, and that they showed lack of discipline, and that Grant, who had loomed up so splendidly on the Cumberland River, had been drunk, and was responsible for all that was unsatisfactory, caused keener appreciation of the serious magnitude of the work ahead than had been theretofore realized.

All this was accentuated by another call for soldiers.

I had wanted to go with my brother in the 24th Ohio, then later with the 60th Ohio, a one year's regiment, recruited during the summer and fall of 1861, almost entirely

from Highland County, but every one insisted that I was too young, and that I would not be accepted for that reason.

I realized that I was under age—a mere boy—and that real men were needed, and, therefore, rather sorrowfully concluded I would not be able to give a service I was anxious to render. It seemed hard and inglorious to be compelled to remain at home when such heroic work was to be done.

I read the papers carefully and followed the fortunes of the different regiments of which I had some knowledge with the keenest interest and extremest anxiety.

When the news came that the 12th Ohio, Company K, of which regiment had been recruited in Highland County, and among whose members I had a number of personal friends, and the Captain of which company was Judge James Sloane, with whom I afterward read law, had been engaged in the battle of Scarey Creek, and that Captain Sloane had been wounded, it seemed like the war had indeed come home to us, and that blood had been shed that we should all join in avenging.

This feeling was intensified when later the news was flashed to us of the Battle of Carnifex Ferry, a much more important engagement, and that the 12th Ohio was again in the fight, this time suffering still more severe losses, Colonel Lowe, the gallant Colonel, being among those killed in the battle.

The strain grew constantly greater and more intense, until life at home became irksome and almost intolerable.

Almost every day we read of some engagement somewhere in which Ohio troops participated, and found among the losses and casualties the names of friends and acquaintances.

It was not long until the 24th Ohio met the enemy, first in some slight skirmishes near Cheat Mountain and then on the Green Brier River in West Virginia.

My brother's letters giving the details of his experiences were intensely interesting. They were read not only by the whole family but were sought after and passed around from family to family throughout the neighborhood until they were almost worn out by the continued handling of them.

A little later, in the winter of 1861, that regiment was transferred from West Virginia to Louisville, Kentucky, and was there made a part of Buell's army.

A few weeks later, April 6th and 7th, this regiment brigaded with the 6th Ohio, the famous Guthrie Greys, participated in the Battle of Shiloh, and then in the Corinth campaign that followed.

My brother was fortunate enough to capture at Shiloh a double barrelled shot gun that a Confederate soldier had used in the battle. He sent it home to me. This is a trifling incident, but it had the effect of causing me to think more and more of my own duty in the premises.

I finally determined that if I could not enlist as a soldier I would in some other capacity find a way to help in the great struggle.

It was while my mind was in this state that I walked home, as above noted, from Sunday school in company with my neighbor and friend and was told by him in the conversation we had that he had only the night before received a commission from Governor Tod, authorizing him to raise a company to be designated "Company A," and to be assigned to the 89th Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and that he intended to immediately resign his railroad agency and commence recruiting his company.

I recognized that my opportunity to enter the service had come. He was my neighbor and friend—a most excellent man; honorable, high-minded, and in every way a suitable man to have command and have charge of men; to look out not only for their training and discipline, but also for their health and safety from unnecessary hardships and exposures.

I told him while I was not yet eighteen I would like to go with him and I would like to have the honor of being his first recruit.

He seemed greatly pleased, and said that I should think it over and that at about nine o'clock the next morning he would call at the Auditor's office, and that if I still desired to enlist, I should have the honor I had solicited.

The next morning I was more determined than ever, so that when he arrived promptly at the hour named at the Auditor's office, I signed the necessary papers, took the necessary oath and became, as the record shows, the first man enlisted in Company "A," 89th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and, as the record further shows, the first man enlisted in the regiment.

When I told my Uncle James Reece Sunday afternoon what I had said to Captain Glenn and that I wanted his approval of my proposed action, he seemed greatly distressed. It seemed to him that I was too young, and that I did not know enough about taking care of my health, and feared I would not be able to endure the hardships. But finally, after talking the matter all over with him, he yielded his consent, and thus gave me peace of mind about it, which I could not have had if I had enlisted against his judgment and advice.

I had no opportunity to consult either my father or mother, who lived twelve miles in the country, but they knew my disposition, and I knew they were prepared to hear almost any time of my enlistment, and that they would not be surprised when they learned that I was to be a member of Captain Glenn's company.

A month was spent in recruiting the company. It seemed hard to get a good start. Various parts of the county were visited. We had a drum corps, and flags and speakers, and while there was much enthusiasm, yet there was some reluctance upon the part of men who had made up their minds to enlist in determining to what regiment, of a number that were then being recruited, they would attach themselves.

Finally, however, the tide turned in our favor, and then our ranks were speedily filled. In due time we were ordered to rendezvous at Camp Dennison, where we were assigned quarters in wooden barracks, and were joined in a few days by other companies that had been recruited for our regiment; one other company, "Company I," Captain David M. Barrett, from Highland County, three companies from Clermont County, two companies from Brown County, and three

companies from Ross County—ten in all—a full regiment of a thousand men.

Our Colonel was John G. Marshall of Georgetown. He was related in some way to General Grant, and naturally had larger stature in our estimation on that account. He was a lawyer by profession and had a fondness for public speaking, in which he indulged on every occasion that gave him an excuse, especially if he had been drinking, for which he soon developed an over-fondness.

Our Lieutenant Colonel was James Rowe of Chillicothe, who had been an officer in the Ohio Militia.

He was of rather delicate health and on that account soon resigned.

Our Major was Joseph D. Hatfield, a Baptist minister from Clermont County. He finally succeeded to the Colonelcy, but did not develop an aptitude for a military command of such important character, and before a year had passed he, too, was out of the service and home again.

The officers of our company were William H. Glenn, Captain; Henry H. Mullinix, first Lieutenant; and Samuel A. Glenn, second Lieutenant. Of these only Samuel A. Glenn had seen any service.

He had been a Sergeant in Company I of the 24th O. V. I., the same company in which my brother was serving.

On account of this experience he, and a few others in other companies, especially Capt. W. R. Adams of Company K, and Lieutenant, afterward Captain, Isaac C. Nelson of Company D, who had seen some service, were very valuable officers to the whole regiment.

The non-commissioned officers were appointed by the Colonel on the recommendation of the Captain of the company. When they were appointed I was gratified to find that I was given the place of second Sergeant. With that rank I was mustered in with the regiment on the 26th day of August, 1862.

We were permitted to spend only a few days at Camp Dennison, but these few days were full of hard work, drilling and making necessary preparation for service at the front.

Before we were anything like properly drilled and disciplined we were hurried into active service in the rear of Covington and Newport, Kentucky, to resist a threatened attack on Cincinnati by Kirby Smith, who was then making his celebrated raid.

We left Camp Dennison during the first week of September. The weather was intensely warm. We had not yet become accustomed to our new uniforms. We had worn them only a few days. They were entirely too heavy for such a temperature. Our knapsacks were filled almost to the bursting point, and on top of them we carried a heavy blanket.

We went by rail to Cincinnati, disembarked at the "Little Miami Depot," as it was then called, and marched through the streets of Cincinnati to a position in front of the Burnet House, at that time one of the principal hotels of the city. There we were paraded before Governor Tod and General Lew Wallace, who was Commander-in-Chief of the forces assembled for the defense of the city. A number of speeches were made to us, all very complimentary in character. Among others who spoke was our Colonel. In the course of his remarks he christened us the "Tod Tigers," a name that clung to us throughout our service.

When the speeches were ended we were marched to the pontoon bridge crossing the Ohio River, and over it into Covington, Kentucky, and out beyond the city on to some high hills of which our troops were taking possession, and there put into position for the night at what was supposed to be the very front.

We had scarcely gone into camp before I was detailed for guard duty and acted during the night as one of the Sergeants of the camp guard. Shortly after I was so assigned to duty "Company A"—the company to which I belonged—was detailed for picket duty, and spent the night a quarter of a mile in advance of our camp in that kind of service. In this way I was deprived of the opportunity of conferring with the officers of my company in regard to the first serious experience and trouble I had as a soldier. I had

never before been on such duty. Hardly anybody else in the regiment had ever had any such experience. It was our first night "at the front."

Some time during the night, when it became my duty to put on a relief guard, I found one of the soldiers intoxicated; so much so that he was utterly unfit for duty. I put another man in his place and a guard over him, and in the morning, immediately after roll call, reported him to the officer of the day. Some one told the Colonel. He was very much incensed to think that on the very first day of service, in what he was pleased to call the "enemy's country," one of the Tod Tigers should be guilty of such an offense. With a loud voice he called upon me as Sergeant of the guard to bring the offending soldier to his headquarters. This order made me nervous, for I had never before been very near to the Colonel. I had never before spoken to him nor had he ever spoken to me. To be unexpectedly called before him in such a way filled me with apprehension. At that time he was to me a very august person.

It was, therefore, with fear and trembling that I brought the guilty offender forward, and stood by while the Colonel interrogated first the soldier and then myself as to what had happened.

After he became thus informed, and after almost the entire regiment had gathered about to see what was going on, he proceeded to make a speech in which he told of the serious character of the offense that had been committed; that nothing could be worse than that a soldier appointed to guard his sleeping comrades should be guilty of drinking to excess and making himself incapable of discharging that duty, thus putting the lives of all the regiment in jeopardy, for all this had happened not only in the enemy's country, but also in the very presence, as it were, of the enemy, who was expected to attack us almost any hour.

He finally ended his discourse by sentencing him then and there, without court martial or any other proceeding, to have his head shaved, and directed me, as the Sergeant in charge, to proceed to execute the sentence.

From the first my embarrassment had been increasing. This capped the climax. I did not know what to do, but I had to do something and do it at once. Never having shaved anybody's head, I timidly asked what I should shave his head with. The Colonel answered in a stern voice, which indicated impatience with my ignorance as to how to proceed, that I should shave his head with a razor, of course. I told him I had no razor; where could I get one? He then suggested that I might substitute a pair of scissors. I told him I had no scissors, and did not know where I could get a pair. With this he became very impatient and gave me a severe lecture for having neither razor nor scissors, but told me to cut his hair with my knife. I had a knife, but by this time I was so thoroughly confused that I had great difficulty to get my hand under my belted blouse and into my pocket. Finally, however, I got it out and opened it, but not knowing just how to proceed to use it, I stood a moment hesitating what to do, when the Colonel, greatly to my relief, snatched it out of my hand, grabbed the man by the hair and commenced to saw off one lock after another, the man groaning and the Colonel all the while commenting on the gravity of the offense and the propriety of the punishment he was administering as an object lesson to all others.

He cut away until the poor man's head was quite spotted. At last, satisfied with what he had accomplished, he directed me to remove the prisoner, but to set him to work digging a ditch as a further punishment for his very great offense. What kind of a ditch and where it should be located he did not specify, and I, profiting by experience, did not make any inquiries, but marched him down into a ravine near the edge of the camp and set him to work with a spade that I secured from the Quartermaster. He continued at this work until guard mount came and I was relieved.

Just when and how the soldier was relieved I do not now recall.

The Colonel's excited, nervous and impulsive manner not only continued but grew worse, until a few weeks later,

while we were at Point Pleasant, West Virginia, he was dismissed from the service.

We were unfortunate as to all our field officers, but each dropped out before the end of the first year in the field.

We were most fortunate, however, in the officers who succeeded them. Caleb H. Carlton, a graduate of West Point, and a Captain of the 4th U. S. Infantry, was appointed Colonel. William H. Glenn, Captain of Company A, became Lieutenant Colonel, and John H. Jolly, Captain of Company E, became Major. These officers quickly brought the regiment to a high state of efficiency.

Colonel Carlton was one of the most capable officers it was my fortune to meet during all my experience in the service. He was a strict disciplinarian, a fine drill officer, brave and cool in battle, and always dignified and courteous in his intercourse with both officers and men. He quickly acquired and never lost the confidence, admiration and affectionate regard and esteem of the entire regiment. It was a great pleasure to me to call his splendid record to the attention of President McKinley, who, solely on his merit, promoted him to the rank of Brigadier General. He is now on the retired list.

CHAPTER IV.

SERVICE IN WEST VIRGINIA AND TENNESSEE.

WE were kept in the rear of Covington and Newport, changing our position a number of times, until Kirby Smith disappeared and all apparent danger for Cincinnati passed away.

These were at times exciting days, and our experience was an important preparation for what was to follow. Forts were erected, breastworks were constructed, trees were felled to clear our front and obstruct the approach of the enemy.

It was during this period, while we were stationed at a point called Fort Shaler, in the rear of Newport, that Lincoln, September 22, 1862, issued his Emancipation Proclamation.

When the daily papers reached the camp the men quickly gathered in groups about one of their number who read aloud for the benefit of all.

Every man seemed to realize the significance of the step that had been taken; that a change in the character of the struggle had taken place, which thenceforth was to involve not alone the preservation of the Union, but also the abolition of slavery.

There was little doubt expressed—I do not now recall any—as to the wisdom of the act. On the contrary, by all so far as I can now remember, it was applauded as not only a necessary war measure, but as wise, timely, inevitable and calculated to help our cause, both at home and abroad.

Every man knew that it meant a long, bloody war, but all felt that the contest had been placed on a higher and better plane, both morally and patriotically; that Union victory in consequence meant something worth fighting for, and, if need be, dying for. The result was a firmer reso-

lution on the part of every one to achieve success, let the sacrifice and consequences be what they might.

A few days later we were put under marching orders. Until we broke camp and started back across the Ohio River into Cincinnati, where we were loaded into a train of box freight cars, we had no idea where we were bound for; and it did not matter. We were glad to be moving, for in that fact alone there was promise of an opportunity to render more useful services.

After we were on board the train we learned that we were en route for West Virginia, the immediate point being Point Pleasant at the mouth of the Kanawha Valley.

Our forces in that locality had met with some reverses, and practically the whole valley was in the possession of the Confederate forces.

We were taken by rail to Hamden, and thence to Oak Hill, in Jackson County, Ohio, passing in sight of the residence of the Honorable H. S. Bundy, situated on a farm where Wellston now stands.

I did not know Mr. Bundy at that time, or take any note then of his home, but later when the war was over, and while I was a student at the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, I met there Mr. Bundy's daughter, who was a student at the Ohio Wesleyan Female College, and became engaged to her, and that made it interesting to me to visit her in this home, where in 1870 we were married.

Disembarking at Oak Hill, we marched via Gallipolis to Point Pleasant, where we joined and became a part of the forces then being assembled there under the command of Major General Jacob D. Cox.

The task before us was the recapture of the valley.

When a short time later we started on the march to meet the enemy, as we supposed, we were surprised, in view of his reported strength, to find that he did not stand and give us battle, but from day to day as we cautiously advanced he continued to fall back, only now and then making enough resistance by his rear guard to cover his retreat.

Finally we reached Kanawha Falls, at the head of the valley, just in time to see the last of the enemy's column disappearing over Cotton Mountain toward Fayetteville.

The following day we learned why our success had been so easily achieved, and that we were entitled to only a part of the credit, for we were then and there joined by another column of Union soldiers, under the command of General Rutherford B. Hayes. These soldiers were fresh from the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, and were hurrying from the East to the head of the valley to intercept the retreating Confederates, who, apprised of the movement, had been yielding to our advance, not so much to avoid battle with us, as to escape a trap in which they would have been caught if their retreat had been less expeditious than it was.

For a short time the two columns thus gathered were encamped side by side. This was our first acquaintance with real veterans, fresh from battlefields, where great victories had been won. We looked upon them with great admiration. I shall not undertake to say how they regarded us.

We could not help feeling that we were at a great disadvantage as compared with them; that they had seen real service, real marching, real fighting, and that they had helped to accomplish great results.

Looking back to that encampment, it is interesting to recall that we had present there at that time General Hayes, afterwards President of the United States; General Cox, afterwards Governor of Ohio, and, later, a distinguished member of President Grant's Cabinet; and, also, least at that time, but greater than either, afterward, William McKinley, who was then an officer of the 23rd Ohio, which was a part of General Hayes' column.

I did not personally know any of these men at the time, but in after years, when I had come to know all of them, we talked frequently of the Kanawha campaign and that first meeting.

The valley having been recaptured, and winter coming on—it was then November—our regiment was stationed on the south side of Cotton Mountain, midway between the

Falls and Fayetteville, where we were told we would probably remain until spring, and in consequence were ordered to construct winter quarters.

For a month or more we were kept busy and hard at work, drilling and building log houses. We took great pains to make our quarters comfortable. We had large fireplaces, well arranged bunking conveniences, and were glad indeed when we were able to quit our tents and take up our quarters in such comfortable homes. The evenings were especially enjoyable. They were spent sitting about the fires, telling stories, talking about the war, home, etc.

But our plans were all soon upset. The battle of Stone River was fought and there was a demand for reinforcements for Rosecrans. Early in January, therefore, when we had hardly become well settled in the quarters we had taken so much pains to build, we were ordered to break camp, abandon all our comforts, and start to the relief of our comrades in Tennessee. We marched back over Cotton Mountain and down the valley as far as Cannelton, where we were halted and put into camp for a short time in the quarters recently vacated by the 30th Ohio, which had been sent only a few days before our arrival there to reinforce the Army of the Tennessee.

It was two or three weeks before boats came for us. We were glad indeed when they arrived, for we had then been long enough in the service to feel mortified that we had not yet been in any kind of an engagement.

We embarked and started on what proved to be a long journey. Down the Kanawha to the Ohio, and then down the Ohio, passing Cincinnati, Louisville, and on to the mouth of the Cumberland, and then up that stream to Fort Donelson, reaching there just as the second battle at that place was ending.

We were held there two or three days, and during this time allowed to go on shore and visit the places where the fighting was done. The dead were still unburied. It was the first battlefield, with its ghastly evidences of the struggle remaining that we had had opportunity to visit.

It is probably not necessary to say that it made a very lasting impression on our minds.

At the end of our short stay we were carried by our boats to Nashville, where we disembarked and remained in camp for two or three weeks. While this was a beautiful city, beautifully located, yet there was only one place of real interest to visit, and that was the State House. I remember being much interested in visiting that. It was the first State Capitol building I had ever seen.

At the end of our short stay at Nashville we were taken to Carthage, sixty miles above Nashville, where the brigade to which we had been attached, commanded by Brigadier General George Crook, was stationed as a sort of outpost or guard for the left flank of our army.

We had here a beautiful camp on a plantation that belonged to an ex-Congressman by the name of Cullom. He was a typical Southern gentleman of the ante-war period. He had a large brick residence, surrounded by beautiful fields and groves and a fine orchard. He had a herd of deer, the first I had ever seen. The farm was well stocked with cattle, horses and other animals.

He made no pretensions of sympathy with our cause, but in a manly way told us that his sympathies were all with the Confederates, and that he, too, would be with them except only for his age and infirmities. He must have been sorely distressed, and in his heart he must have felt bitterly aggrieved to have a whole army, as it were, come and take possession of all he had in the unceremonious way in which we visited him; but, nevertheless, he was always polite, courteous and kind.

I do not now recall how I happened to become acquainted with him, but in some manner I met him. Learning that I was from Hillsboro, Ohio, he asked me if I knew Nelson Barrere, with whom he had served in Congress and for whom he had a warm feeling of friendship and of high personal regard.

Mr. Barrere was one of the ablest lawyers at the Hillsboro bar and one of our best known citizens. I was able to

tell him many things about him that greatly interested him and caused him to become much interested in me.

Learning one day that the Sergeant Major of our regiment, James B. Elliott, a first cousin of mine, for whom I had all the affection suggested by our kinship, was dangerously ill with typhoid fever in the camp hospital, where it was difficult to take proper care of him, he insisted that he should be brought to his house, and that I should come there and remain with him and help take care of him during his illness.

We availed ourselves of his kind offer, but all in vain, for although he gave us every possible help and seemed as much concerned as though the sick man had been his relative instead of mine, and a Confederate instead of a Union soldier, the poor boy continued to grow worse, and shortly died.

When I remember the tenderness and sympathy of this stout-hearted man and recall the circumstances under which he extended such hospitality and consideration, I find myself placing him high up—near the top of the roll among the noblest men whom it has been my fortune to know.

His splendid plantation was a military camp. His fences, crops, buildings, in short, everything visible that he possessed, was destroyed or seriously damaged, except only the ground itself, and that was trampled and interfered with in one way and another, to such an extent that it was probably a long time after we left before he was able to restore it to its former good condition; and all this was done and being done by the enemy of the cause in which all his sympathies were enlisted, and yet no Union man, unharmed in his possessions, or undisturbed in his feelings, could have been kinder or more knightly in his conduct toward that poor, unfortunate, dying boy and his distressed friends.

CHAPTER V.

THE TULLAHOMA, CHATTANOOGA AND ATLANTA CAMPAIGNS.

OUR stay at Carthage gave us an opportunity, which was fully improved, to become much better drilled and disciplined. We not only had the advantage of being brigaded with veteran troops like the 11th and the 36th Ohio Regiments, from whom we learned much by observation and contact, but our Brigade Commander was General George Crook, a graduate of West Point, and a most accomplished officer who knew how to enforce discipline and quickly make soldiers out of raw recruits.

In addition we were greatly helped by two slight brushes with the enemy during this period.

Small bodies of Confederate cavalry repeatedly visited the country in the vicinity of our camp, apparently on only scouting or reconnoitering expeditions. On two occasions our regiment was sent out to drive them off. Each time we had a skirmish with them, in one of which Samuel Pence, a private in my company, received a slight gunshot wound in the calf of the leg—the first blood shed by the 89th!

These incidents were too unimportant to mention, except for the fact that they enabled us to realize and tell that we had been "under fire," and had successfully returned it. That gave us confidence and some pride in our record.

In the meanwhile I had been promoted to be first Sergeant, and then to the rank of second Lieutenant, each promotion to fill a vacancy occasioned by the promotion of the next in rank above me.

Finally we were greatly rejoiced to receive orders to join the main force under General Rosecrans at Murfreesboro, where we were assigned to the Fourth Division of the Four-

teenth Corps, commanded by General Reynolds, in time to participate as such in the Tullahoma campaign.

On the first day of this campaign our regiment was in the advance on the road on which our brigade marched, and it was my fortune to command the advance guard, consisting of a platoon of men from Company A, which had the advance of our regiment.

We marched rapidly and without interruption, feeling much elation over the thought that we were in a situation to do some effective work, until suddenly, as we passed a turn in the road, we came in sight of a squad of mounted men, the outpost of the enemy, not more than two or three hundred yards in front of us. We were expecting, sooner or later, to come upon the enemy's pickets, but had no idea that they were so close at hand.

At the same instant that we saw them they fired a volley at us and then galloped away. We returned the fire, but neither their shots nor ours took effect. These were, however, the opening shots in our particular front of the battle of Hoover's Gap, not a very serious affair, but one I mention because of an incident happening many years later that had reference to it.

The enemy having been developed, I was ordered to rejoin the regiment, which with other regiments was formed in line of battle, and behind a heavy line of skirmishers moved forward to dislodge him.

We found him in a strong position and able to hold us in check for two or three days, during which time, although night and day there was a perfect downpour of rain, there was an almost incessant rattle of musketry, occasionally interspersed with artillery, that did some damage on both sides, but there was no serious fighting.

The enemy finally vacated his position, more because the other columns of our army were flanking him than because of anything we did.

Years afterward, May 17, 1902, the body of General Rosecrans, who had died in California in 1898, was brought to Washington to be reinterred at Arlington. He was given a military funeral, attended by President Roosevelt and

most of his Cabinet and other important officials of the Government then in Washington.

I was then a member of the United States Senate and attended as a member of the committee appointed to represent that body. I rode to Arlington in a carriage with Senator John C. Spooner of Wisconsin, and Senator William B. Bate of Tennessee, both of whom had served with distinction in the Civil War; Senator Spooner in the Union Army, and Senator Bate in the Confederate Army. Naturally, under such circumstances, we indulged in reminiscences. In the course of our conversation Senator Bate chanced to tell us that he was in the fight and wounded at Hoover's Gap.

It was an interesting and impressive coincidence that we should have lived to be colleagues in the Senate and to be thus associated in paying a last tribute of respect to the commander of the Union forces in that engagement.

I had for Senator Bate a high and friendly regard which was greatly increased by this circumstance.

He was one of the most faithful and efficient of all the many able and distinguished ex-Confederates who honored the membership of that body.

My regiment was attached to the Fourteenth Corps until the end of the war, participating in the Chattanooga and Atlanta campaigns and the marches through Georgia to the sea and through the Carolinas, but after Chickamauga there was a partial reorganization in which our brigade was made the First Brigade of the Third Division; better known as Turchin's Brigade; a designation of which we were very proud because of the gallant old hero who commanded us and of whom we were all very fond and for whom we had great admiration.

It participated also in the Grand Review at Washington at the close of the war. We were finally discharged at Camp Dennison June 14, 1865.

In the course of an address made at a reunion of the regiment held at Hillsboro, Ohio, September 20, 1869, speaking of its record and services, I said:

> I cannot stop here to particularly recount our marches and countermarches, labors, toils and privations; nor is it necessary, for they

have passed into the history of the country, and will hereafter, till the end of time, be known in connection therewith. Suffice it to say, that on our battle flag are entitled to be written the following facts:

"Two years and eleven months in the service; more than three thousand miles traveled, over one thousand seven hundred of which were on foot, with knapsack on the back and enemy in the front."

Hoover's Gap, Chickamauga, Mission Ridge, Rocky Face Ridge, Resaca, Kenesaw Mountain, Peach Tree Creek, Utoy Creek, Jonesboro, Atlanta, Savannah and Bentonville, are the battles, leaving unmentioned at least fifty such skirmishes as Phillipi, Rich Mountain and Scarey Creek, which, in the beginning of the war, when they were fought, were thought to be great battles.

Next comes the recital of the most terrible price at which they were purchased. Nearly eight hundred fallen. For, starting out with more than a thousand, as hearty, strong, noble and patriotic men as ever obeyed a country's call, we returned to Camp Dennison at the close of the war numbering only two hundred and thirty-one, rank and file; and among them all there could scarce be found a corporal's guard who could not show where at least one bullet of the enemy had struck them. Not all of these eight hundred missing had fallen in battle, it is true, nor perhaps the half of them, for with us, as with all soldiers, the exposures and privations and over-fatigue were more destructive than the enemy's bullets.

The commission appointed to represent Ohio in the placing of monuments and markers on the battlefield of Chickamauga made an official report to the Governor of the State of the services of the different regiments and batteries from our State that participated in that engagement. In that report they say of the 89th Ohio:

It joined the Army of the Cumberland in the early part of 1863, and bore an honorable part in thirty-one campaigns, skirmishes and battles.

I participated in all the above mentioned engagements except Chickamauga. At the date of that battle, September 19th and 20th, 1863, I was detached for recruiting service, as hereinafter mentioned—a great piece of good fortune; since, after hours of the severest fighting, in which the casualties—killed and wounded—were very heavy, the survivors were surrounded and captured. The officers were taken to Libby Prison, and kept there several months, until some of them escaped, and others were exchanged, while the men were taken to Andersonville, where most of them died. As an offset to Chickamauga, I participated in the battle

of Averysboro, a minor engagement, yet one noted for the stubborn character of the fighting that was done.

Early in 1864 I was promoted to be first Lieutenant of Company A. I held this rank and commanded the company during the Atlanta campaign, at the close of which I was transferred to Company G, and detailed to act as Adjutant of the regiment.

I had been thus serving as Adjutant only a few days when I was detailed for service in the Signal Corps. I was, later, on the recommendation of General H. W. Slocum, made a Brevet Captain of United States Volunteers, and assigned to duty on his staff as Aide-de-camp, in which capacity I served until after the Grand Review at Washington, when all officers on detached duty were ordered to rejoin their regiments preparatory to being mustered out.

My lot in the main was only that of the average soldier and officer of my age and rank, and I, therefore, pass it all by with the exception of a few experiences that were exceptional, and which, if recorded, may be of some interest to friends at least.

During the period intervening between the Tullahoma and the Chattanooga campaigns I was detailed with two other officers, Major Jolly and Captain James R. Vickers, of our regiment to go to Columbus, Ohio, and there take charge of and escort back to the front our regiment's quota of the men who were then about to be drafted. When we reached Columbus we found the draft had been postponed, and that orders were awaiting us to open recruiting stations at places to which we were respectively assigned.

Political excitement was then running high and so much opposition had developed to the proposition to force men into the army by a draft that the Government thought it better to desist and try to secure volunteers.

I was sent to Lynchburg, Highland County, Ohio, and kept there until after the election at which a Governor was to be chosen.

John Brough, a former Democrat, was the candidate of the Union Party, and Clement L. Vallandigham, then an exile in Canada, was the Democratic candidate.

It was not only my privilege but my duty to go about over the adjoining territory in attendance upon all kinds of public meetings.

In this way I saw a great deal of the practical political side of the great struggle for the Union, as exemplified in that vicinity during that contest.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the surprise and distress I experienced because of the constant, open, avowed and at times apparently overwhelming demonstrations of hostility to the Union cause.

A feature of almost every meeting was a procession in which banners were carried on which mottoes were inscribed expressive of the sentiment of those constituting the procession.

All kinds of patriotic inscriptions were carried in the Union meetings. They were in the nature of pledges of support to the Union cause, and words of appreciation and praise for the Union soldiers, and of encouragement to the President, and of confidence in his ultimate success.

These meetings were serious and spirited, but there was nothing disorderly or vicious.

At the Democratic meetings the processions were surprisingly large, exceedingly noisy and demonstrative, and the banners they carried were purposely offensive.

The inscriptions on them were intended to arouse the most hostile feeling toward the administration. They referred to Union soldiers as "Lincoln hirelings"; the most disrespectful allusions were made to the President, and the women carried banners with such inscriptions as "Save us from nigger husbands." These are only a few samples of the many of like character.

Finally the election came and Brough was elected by a majority of more than a hundred thousand. This clarified the situation so far as Ohio was concerned; but the elections in Pennsylvania, New York and other parts of the country were so disappointing that it was impossible to meet with any success in securing new recruits.

Finally, greatly to our relief, an order came, directing us to return to our regiment. We were glad indeed to obey

it, for to all of us our service on this detail had been of the most disagreeable character.

When we reached our regiment we found it in front of Chattanooga in line of battle. Hooker was making his ascent of Lookout Mountain. He was in the midst of his "battle above the clouds." The following day we stormed Mission Ridge, and were sharers in the great victory that was won.

Immediately after the battle was over, and while we were in the midst of our rejoicing I saw General Grant for the first time. He had ascended the Ridge somewhere in front of Orchard Knob, at which point he was stationed during the assault, and was riding along the crest with his staff toward the north end, where there was still some fighting going on.

We cheered him enthusiastically, but he took little notice of our demonstrations, and did not show the slightest elation. He was the same calm, imperturbable, quiet, modest, unassuming man in that moment of one of his greatest triumphs that we all became so familiar with during the later years of his life.

My company did picket duty that night. We were stationed a quarter of a mile or more to the front in a dense, dark woods. To reach us from the crest of the Ridge was a difficult matter in daylight, much worse at night, and yet it was my fortune, in spite of all these difficulties, to receive there a much appreciated visitor.

About midnight, while it was my turn to be off duty, and while I was sound asleep, my brother Burch, who had been hunting me ever since the close of the battle, came to our post. He was unwilling to rest until he knew whether I was safe. He was happy indeed when he found us and learned from my comrades, before I was wakened, that no harm had come to me. After a short stay he left, to hunt his way back to his position, distant from our post at least two or three miles, for he was stationed far away on the right, and we were the last division on the left of the charging column. It must have been well nigh morning before he got a chance to get any sleep or rest.

LIEUTENANT, LATER CAPTAIN, BURCH FORAKER
24th O. V. I.

I shall not dwell on this incident, or even mention many others of like character, nor shall I try to express the thoughts started by their recall. Suffice it to say that as these evidences of brotherly affection and deep concern come trooping back to mind across the half century that has since passed, my heart fills with emotion and my eyes with tears.

We remained in camp at Chattanooga with the rest of the army until February 23rd, when our brigade and some other troops were sent on a reconnoitering expedition which led up to and ended with the battle of Buzzard's Roost, or Rocky Face Ridge, in which we participated.

After this engagement we returned to Ringgold and remained in camp there until May 7th, when we started on the Atlanta campaign.

Our first important engagement was the battle of Resaca, May 14th. From that time on we were under fire every day, participating in all the principal engagements until September 1st, when the campaign ended with the battle of Jonesboro.

I do not stop to speak in detail of this service because it was of such important character that history has made all familiar with it.

CHAPTER VI.

IN THE SIGNAL SERVICE.

SHORTLY after the fall of Atlanta the term of service of the Twenty-fourth Ohio expired. Some of its members probably re-enlisted, but the organization as such did not do so.

It was, therefore, mustered out, and my brother with the others. He had been for some time on detached duty as an acting Signal Officer. He had made a good record, and that may have led to my selection to fill one of the vacancies created by the retirement of him and a number of other officers mustered out about the same time and for the same reason. This branch of the service had become very important and very efficient. Consequently a detail was promptly made to fill up these depletions.

The officers and men were mounted and attached to the respective army and corps headquarters. This made this service very desirable; especially to a line officer who had been "footing it" more than two years, and who had little chance to know what was going on until it was done. I knew of these desirable features from observation and through my brother.

I was very much pleased, therefore, when an order came, September 18, 1864, detailing me for this duty and ordering me to report to a camp of instruction that had been established in Atlanta.

After two or three weeks in this camp I was deemed qualified to assist in field and station work and was assigned to duty on Vining's Hill, then in charge of Lieutenant James H. Connelly, who belonged to an Indiana regiment and had been an acting Signal Officer so long that he was considered one of the most expert of all the veterans of that corps.

Vining's was a high point, situated near the railroad leading back to Chattanooga, on the north bank of the Chattahoochie River, six miles from Atlanta, and the connecting or intermediate station between Atlanta and Kenesaw Mountain, some fifteen or twenty miles further to the north.

The next station beyond Kenesaw was Allatoona, some ten or fifteen miles further north. This station had been for some months one of our bases of supplies, and great quantities of rations, ammunition, clothing, etc., had been assembled there.

About October 1st General Sherman learned that General Hood had crossed the Chattahoochie River some miles west of our right flank and, taking the offensive, had inaugurated a movement by which he proposed to pass to the north of us with a view to compelling us to abandon Atlanta and fall back to protect our lines of communication and our supplies.

Sherman for some time had been studying in his mind a march from Atlanta to some point on the sea coast, and was waiting and watching for an opportunity to execute it. He at once recognized that most unexpectedly Hood was probably playing directly into his hand.

He, therefore, watched his enemy's movements with a most intense interest, not only that he might baffle his purposes, but that he might seize the opportunity, if presented, of carrying out his own cherished ambition.

When satisfied that Hood was so far committed to the bold program upon which he had entered that he would not abandon it, he left General Slocum with the Twentieth Corps to hold Atlanta and started on the back track with the remainder of his army, keeping between the railroad and the Confederates with a view to protecting his lines of communication and his supplies at Allatoona.

As he passed Vining's on his way north, he sent a message to General John M. Corse, then stationed at Rome, Georgia, informing him of the situation and directing him to go at once with all available troops to the relief of Allatoona,

correctly surmising that Hood would make an effort to capture that place and appropriate for his own army what had been so carefully and generously provided for ours.

Corse had available only a small force, not exceeding twelve or fifteen hundred men, but he hastened with all possible dispatch to comply with the order. He reached Allatoona late in the evening of October 4th, but in time to save the place from capture. In the meanwhile Sherman had reached Kenesaw, from which point he opened communication with Corse at Allatoona by signal immediately after Corse's arrival there. His first message, slightly changed, was adopted as the title of that soul-thrilling revival hymn, "Hold the Fort, for I am Coming."

Hold the fort he did, although he had to fight furiously to do so.

The next morning, October 5th, French's division of the Confederate army, some four or five thousand strong, arrived and invested the place. The first thing French did was to send Corse a note demanding an immediate and unconditional surrender to save a "needless effusion of blood." To this demand Corse answered that he was ready for the "needless effusion," and that, if French wanted the place, "he would have to come and get it," thus anticipating by fifty years the German Governor of Kiaou Chou, who is just now (August 27th, 1914) getting great praise for answering in identically the same language a similar demand from the Japanese. French assaulted immediately and severe fighting continued until almost nightfall, when, repeatedly repulsed, he acknowledged defeat by withdrawing his troops and rejoining the main body of Hood's forces.

Corse was a gallant soldier, and, at times, somewhat profane. During the battle a bullet struck him in the face. It tore away part of one cheek and part of one ear. He made himself famous by signaling to Sherman on Kenesaw that the enemy had been driven off, and that, although "minus a cheek and one ear, he was able to whip all hell yet."

Notwithstanding his serious backset at Allatoona, Hood kept on his northward march, still vainly seeking, by threat-

ening first one place and then another, to compel Sherman to evacuate Atlanta and retire to Tennessee.

Sherman followed him far enough and long enough (until about November 1st) to make all necessary preparations to divide his army, sending a part of it back to Nashville under the command of General George H. Thomas, to whom he wisely committed the task of taking care of Hood, and then assembling the remainder at Atlanta, consisting of the Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps of the Army of the Cumberland and the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps of the Army of the Tennessee, and Kilpatrick's Cavalry, from which point he started, November 15th, on his ever-famous march to the sea.

During all the month of October the signal line back from Atlanta, as far as to Resaca and Dalton, was thoroughly busy with flags by day and torches by night, transmitting and receiving messages of the most vital importance. They related to the movement of troops, and, because of their great length, they were not only important, but unusually difficult to handle with the expedition and accuracy necessary. It was this kind of work and service into which I was immediately plunged when I left the camp of instruction. I was fortunate enough, however, to do my part so satisfactorily that, when General Sherman abandoned his line of communication with the North and called in those whom he desired to accompany him to the sea, I was ordered by Captain Samuel Bachtell, Chief Signal Officer of the Military Division of the Mississippi, then attached to General Sherman's staff, to report to Major General Slocum, to whose staff I was assigned for signal duty in the approaching campaign.

I had never met General Slocum, and had heard he was a very strict disciplinarian and hard to get along with. I had some misgiving, therefore, as to my ability to please him.

This was soon dispelled, for I found him an intelligent, agreeable gentleman, an accomplished soldier and an able, careful, safe and painstaking Commander, under whom it was a pleasure to serve.

Nothing occurred that concerned me personally until we reached Savannah except that when we arrived at Milledgeville, then the Capital of the State of Georgia, we found that the Legislature had precipitately adjourned, and in company with the Governor and other State officials, had decamped only a few hours before our arrival. One of the first places visited was, of course, the State Capitol. Upon somebody's suggestion, a mock special session of the Legislature of Georgia was convened, composed of officers of Slocum's command. I sat as a Member and voted for a resolution which was unanimously adopted, repealing an ordinance of secession and restoring the State to the Union. This was my first legislative experience, and it is needless to say I greatly enjoyed it. From an official history of the Twentieth Corps I quote as follows:

The Georgia Legislature adjourned that day with unfinished business on its calendar. But its seats were soon occupied by a jolly crowd of officers from Slocum's army. They may have lacked the dignity and impressive demeanor of the Southern law makers, but they dispatched business and passed important bills at a rapid rate during their short session. General Robinson (Third Brigade, First Division) was chosen Speaker, and Col. "Hi" Rogers, of Slocum's staff, Clerk of the Assembly. A sergeant-at-arms was appointed who did his best to maintain *dis*order. The Speaker announced a Committee on Federal Relations—Colonels Cogswell, Carmen, Zulich, Thompson, Watkins and Ewing—which retired to a committee room. Bryant, the historian of the Third Wisconsin, says that "the sounds of song and laughter that came from that room testified to the zeal of the occupants;" and that "there were evidently refreshments" in that committee room.

During the course of the session some good speeches were made, brilliant and witty, and there was a display of mock gravity, intermingled with "points of order," "Will the gentleman allow me?" etc., to all of which there were bright repartees. General Kilpatrick made the speech of the occasion. When a point of order was raised that he should treat the Speaker before continuing his remarks, the doughty General declared the point well taken, and, drawing a flask from his pocket, took a long drink amid the applause of the House.

The Committee on Federal Relations reported a bill declaring that the ordinance of secession was injudicious, indiscreet and should be repealed, which was duly passed by a satisfactory vote. The fun becoming fast and furious, some of the members rushed into the hall, shouting, "The Yankees are coming!" whereupon the Legislature adjourned in well simulated fright and with frantic confusion. General

Sherman says in his Memoirs that he "was not present at this frolic, but heard of it at the time and enjoyed the joke." And this was one of the ways Slocum's men enjoyed themselves as they went marching through Georgia.

The General Robinson who presided as Speaker that afternoon afterward served several terms in Congress and two terms as Secretary of State of the State of Ohio; the last of these terms while I was Governor. He was a grand old hero whom Ohio delighted to honor.

When we reached Savannah it was known that a fleet with supplies and additional troops was somewhere, or at least should be, near at hand. A few days afterward Fort McAllister, on the Ogeechee River, on which our right rested, was captured by General Hazen's division of the right wing and from there communication was opened with the fleet. At that time it was not known when we would be able to capture the city and open additional and more important and more direct communication via the Savannah River.

The place was strongly fortified and in our front there were swamps and marshes and much bad ground to interfere with a direct assault.

On this account we were delayed until the 21st day of December, when the "March through Georgia" was ended by a triumphant entry into this old and beautiful city. The enemy had evacuated the place and had retired across the Savannah River into South Carolina during the previous night.

Our troops also at the same time took possession of Fort Jackson, situated on the river four miles below Savannah, which had also been abandoned. As soon as this information was received by General Slocum I was directed to go to Fort Jackson and from there open communication with the fleet by signal and advise them of the situation, so that they might join our left at Savannah as they had joined our right on the Ogeechee. Taking with me two men, we rode hurriedly to the fort. We found it in possession of the 28th Pennsylvania and the 29th Ohio, but could not find any point about it that was high enough to enable us to see

over the apparently illimitable stretch of canebrakes that spread out before us along the shores of the river.

I reported this situation to General Slocum and asked for further instructions. He answered, "Go to the lighthouse off Tybee Island and from there open communication with the fleet."

I had a pocket map with me on which a lighthouse was marked as situated in the mouth of the Savannah River some ten or twelve miles distant. The order given me gave no instructions as to how I was to reach the point named.

I assumed there was some roadway over which I could travel, but was unable to find any such road. No one at the fort being able to give me any information, I recalled that we had passed a house a mile or two from the fort on the way back to the city, in front of which on a spacious lawn were assembled a few white people and a great many negroes. Not being able to get information otherwise, it occurred to me I might get information there.

We rode back to that place and made inquiry, only to learn that there was no roadway whatever; that the whole country on the Georgia side of the river down to Fort Pulaski near its mouth was one vast marsh filled with canebrakes and impassable, and that the only way to get to the lighthouse "off Tybee Island" was to go down the river by boat, stopping, if deemed advisable, when we reached there at the fort, which had been captured by the Union forces under General Wright in 1862, and had ever since then been in our possession.

I reported these facts to General Slocum and asked for further instructions. In a few minutes back came the order, "Go to the lighthouse off Tybee Island and from there open communication with the fleet," and not another word. I regarded this as not only final and peremptory, but as somewhat curt.

There was a good-looking row boat of ordinary size fastened to the shore near the fort. Concluding that was the only way to carry out my orders, I rode back again to the farmhouse and asked the negroes there assembled if any of

them had ever been down the river, if they knew how to row a boat, and if they would take me to the destination I was ordered to reach. Two intelligent, fine-looking fellows stepped forward and volunteered to take me, saying they were acquainted with the river and accustomed to boating, and that they could safely take me to Fort Pulaski at least.

We took them up behind us on our horses and galloped back to Fort Jackson, unfastened the boat, and were just starting when Colonel Howard, the brother of General Howard, and a member of his staff, appeared on the scene, saying he had an order similar to mine, and that he had learned there was no other way to go.

He chartered the other boat, but upon examining it, came to the conclusion it was unseaworthy and declined to undertake the trip. My orders were so peremptory that I felt I had no election to do otherwise than make the effort.

We turned our horses over to one of the mounted men who had accompanied me, and I took the other in the boat with me, and by the help of the negroes who had so kindly offered to row us and steer us, we started.

Darkness soon overtook us, and not only darkness but a high wind, which made the water exceedingly rough, so much so that I was alarmed at times for our safety. In view of the condition of the water and the darkness of the night, I directed the oarsmen to keep as near to the shore as they could, so that if anything happened to us, we might have a chance to reach dry land.

We had been, perhaps, an hour under way when we suddenly ran aground. We had great difficulty in getting off, and at times it looked as though the water would break over the boat in such quantities as to swamp us. Finally, however, we got under way again. Thinking it would be safer, I directed the oarsmen to go out farther from the shore.

We had proceeded a half hour longer, perhaps, when again we ran aground. This time we were so far out from the shore that we could not see the land on either side. Our plight seemed, indeed, precarious. The wind was constantly rising higher, and it was rapidly growing colder.

But finally we got loose and under way again. About one o'clock in the morning we were halted by a sentinel, who was on duty at the landing in front of Fort Pulaski, then in command of a Colonel Brown. After the usual parleying we satisfied him we were friends, and he allowed us to come on shore.

We were so stiff and cold we had difficulty to get out of the boat. I told the sentinel where we were bound for. He said it was impossible to reach the lighthouse, for it was several miles beyond where we were, and the river was so wide that it would be like undertaking to cross the ocean.

He suggested that we go to the fort and report our situation to Colonel Brown, and advise with him as to what should be done. We did so, and although it was a most unseemly hour, the officers, when wakened, gave us a most cordial reception.

Colonel Brown said it would be impossible to reach the lighthouse on a craft like that in which we had come down the river, and that it was unnecessary to try to do so. That they had a steamer at the dock and that he would have it get up steam and take us out to the fleet, where I could deliver my message directly and in person. Accordingly we were soon on board the steamer on our way to the fleet. Just as we were going on board the steamer, Captain Duncan, Captain of the scouts of General Howard's right wing of the army, put in an appearance. He had somehow reached the fort by land on the same general mission. He accompanied us on the boat to the fleet, where we reported fully and in detail to General J. G. Foster in command.

We were then given a place to lie down and get some rest. When I was wakened in the morning I learned the General had ordered the fleet to proceed to Savannah, and that, fearing there might be torpedoes in the river, he had sent some torpedo boats ahead to clear the way. At an early hour we were off. The torpedo boats removed a number of torpedoes, over which we had passed coming down the night before, but we reached Savannah about noon time without any accident, to find thousands of the soldiers

of the army assembled on the wharf to greet us. The greeting they gave us was so loud and so thoroughly heartfelt, that their welcome can never be forgotten. Captain Bachtell, Chief Signal Officer of the military division of the Mississippi, made the following mention of this incident in his official report:

> . . . Lieutenant J. B. Foraker was ordered to proceed down the river and open communication with Fort Pulaski, if any signal officer was there. But finding it impossible to go far enough, owing to the marshy nature of the ground, he returned to Fort Jackson, procured a small boat, and pressing two negroes for oarsmen, he, with his flagman (Second Class Private Thomas E. Matteson), started for Fort Pulaski, some nine miles distant, which point he reached some time after dark. He communicated soon after with Major General Foster in person, some two miles off. He was the first to give him the news of our troops occupying the city of Savannah. On the following day he returned with General Foster to the city. . . . In conclusion, too much cannot be said of the conduct, efforts and energy displayed by the officers of the corps in trying to establish communication with the fleet. . . . Also Lieut. J. B. Foraker, acting signal officer, in carrying out his orders, in a small boat over unknown waters, almost at the peril of his life.
>
> Of the other officers and men, to whom no fine opportunities were presented to distinguish themselves, all have willingly and faithfully and well performed their duty. I am, Colonel, very respectfully,
>
> Your obedient servant,
>
> SAM BACHTELL,
> Captain and Chief Signal Officer, U. S. A.

Captain Bachtell was afterward, on the recommendation of General Sherman, promoted for meritorious service to the rank of Colonel and Chief Signal Officer.

There stood near the wharf a high warehouse, the highest building, as I now remember, in Savannah, on which I learned the Confederates had maintained a signal station. I was ordered to open one at the same place. I did so, occupying for sleeping and living apartments the top room of the building, immediately under the station, which I reached by means of a narrow stairway opening out upon the roof, through a trap door.

I had been there some time when the Honorable Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, came to Savannah on a sort of official inspection tour and for general conference.

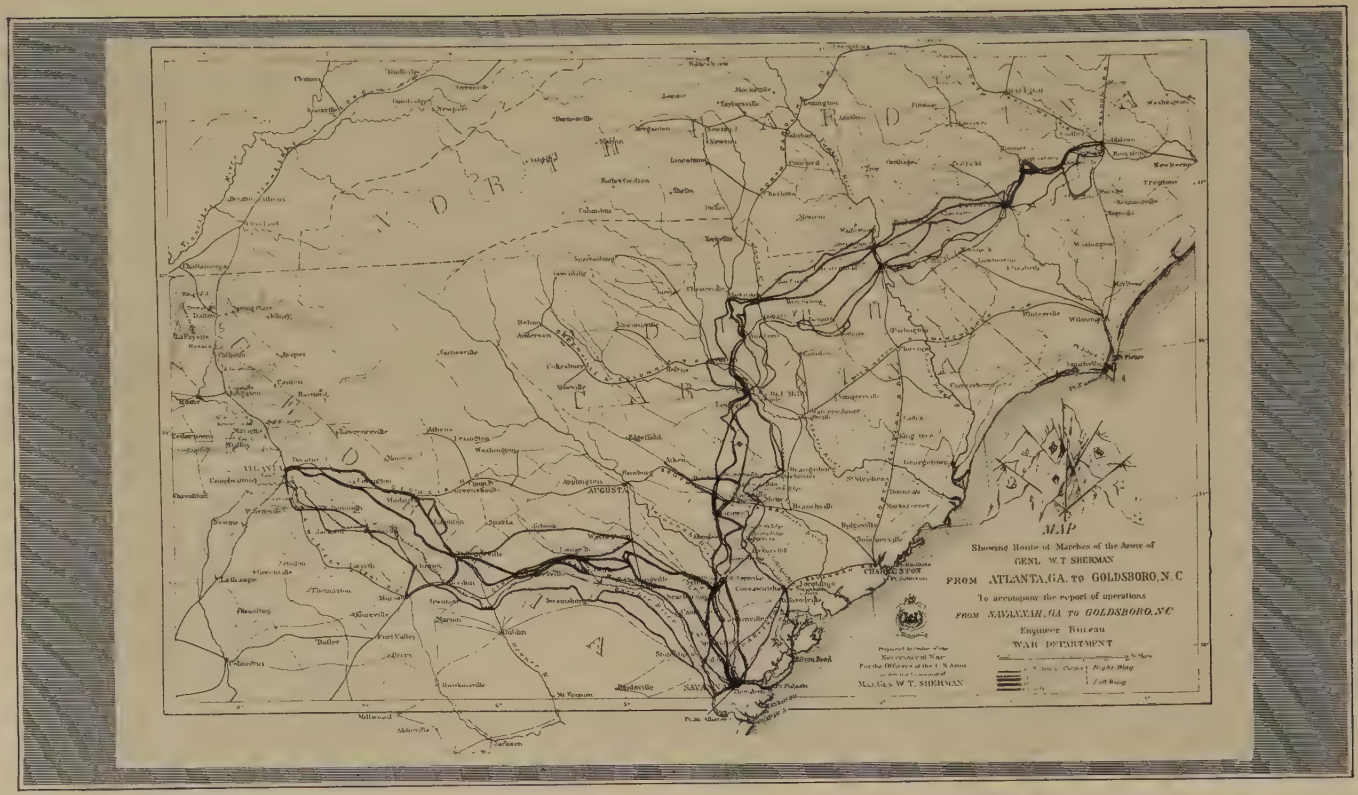
I had no thought of personally meeting him, but one day, when engaged at the station on top of the building, with the trap door open, I heard voices in the room below and recognized one of them as the voice of General Sherman. It was only a minute or two until the General appeared through the trap door with another gentleman in civilian dress, whom I recognized, from the pictures I had seen of him, as Secretary Stanton.

General Sherman introduced me to him, and told me he had brought him up there so that he might get a good view of the city and of the surrounding country; particularly South Carolina, immediately opposite.

Sherman was, as usual, enthusiastic, cordial, frank and talkative. Stanton, on the contrary, was glum and had little to say. His manner was such I could not help thinking he was unfriendly to Sherman, as he afterward showed he was.

Sherman had many things to say to the Secretary that were under the circumstances very interesting to me, and I accounted myself fortunate to hear them. They were, however, of only transient importance, and are not any longer distinctly remembered.

I noticed while they were talking that Sherman was smoking a cigar. Finally, when they said good-by and started to leave, Sherman, as though not thinking of it until then, remarked that I kept good cigars; that he had found a box open on the table in the room below and had helped himself, and that he was enjoying my hospitality very much without my consent, but he hoped I wouldn't object. The box was one that had been sent me from Hilton Head, S. C., by a brother officer a few days before, and I felt honored that the General had seen fit to help himself.



OFFICIAL MAP OF SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA AND THE CAROLINAS.

CHAPTER VII.

THROUGH THE CAROLINAS.

OUR stay in Savannah was of short duration. On the 18th of January we made a start for the campaign through the Carolinas. Slocum's left wing of the army marched up the Savannah River, on the Georgia side, a distance of about forty miles, to a place called Sisters Ferry.

I was ordered to go there on the United States gunboat Pontiac, commanded by Captain S. B. Luce of the United States Navy. This gunboat, my diary tells me, carried "fourteen guns—two one hundred pounders, four nine-inch and eight six-inch brass guns, and was a snug, swift-running craft, well officered and well manned." It was under orders to proceed up the river to patrol it and to protect Slocum's crossing at Sisters Ferry. The purpose of sending me on it was to enable the right and left wings of the army, marching on the opposite sides of the river, to communicate with each other, if there should be necessity and opportunity therefor. There was neither necessity nor opportunity, for the country was flat as a pancake and generally shut out entirely by trees that lined the shores.

Having nothing to do gave me opportunity to become acquainted with the officers of the ship, whom I found very cordial and polite. They seemed delighted to tell me of service in the navy generally and of their particular experiences. They were naturally very anxious to hear everything I could tell them about the details of our march through Georgia and our general service on the land.

I was on board this ship about two weeks. It carried a fairly good library and I found in it a number of books that I read during my spare time. Reference to my diary

informs me that I read during this time "Redburn's First Voyage," "Tom Brown's School Days at Rugby" and "The Red Rover."

I took advantage of every opportunity to read such books as I could get, and there were a good many of them, but at the moment I recall only one other, "Nicholas Nickleby," that I read about this time. I read that while stationed on Vining's Hill and greatly enjoyed it.

General Howard entered South Carolina by way of Hilton Head, marching from there into the interior of the State on roads that led to points practically opposite Sisters Ferry.

A few days after the Pontiac reached Sisters Ferry, January 31st, 1865, I bade good-by to the naval service and rejoined General Slocum's headquarters, where I felt more at home.

The Savannah River was at the time little short of a great flood. It was everywhere "out of its banks," and we were compelled to remain there in camp some days before it was safe to put down our pontoons and cross over. When finally we were able to move, General Kilpatrick first crossed with his cavalry, then the infantry. For some reason which I do not now recall, I crossed in a row boat with General A. S. Williams, then commanding the Twentieth Corps, and two or three members of his staff. As we neared the South Carolina shore, General Williams, who seemed to have some acquaintance with literature, called attention to the long, gray, funereal-looking moss that hung in great profusion from the branches of the live oaks that lined the bank, and remarked that it made him think of cemeteries, and, taken in connection with our situation and what we were doing, reminded him of Gray's "Elegy," written in a country churchyard, and Wolfe's remark, as he crossed the St. Lawrence the night before the battle on the Heights of Abraham, that he would rather be the author of that poem than to capture Quebec on the following day. At that time I had read Gray's "Elegy,"—it had a prominent place in one of the readers used in our district country schools,—but I

had never before heard of the comment of General Wolfe mentioned by General Williams.

At the first opportunity I read the "Elegy" again with greater appreciation than ever before, and studied with new interest the struggle that settled it, in that death grapple at Quebec, that the English and not the French were to dominate America.

I happened to be present when General Sherman, after all was in readiness for the Carolina campaign and each was about to go his separate way, said, in substance, as his parting words to Slocum: "Don't forget that when you have crossed the Savannah River you will be in South Carolina. You need not be so careful there about private property as we have been. The more of it you destroy the better it will be. The people of South Carolina should be made to feel the war, for they brought it on and are responsible more than anybody else for our presence here. Now is the time to punish them."

General Slocum indicated assent.

Two of the first villages we reached were Robertsville and Lawtonville. They were both small towns of perhaps six or eight hundred inhabitants. They were both in ashes. There was not a house left in either place, only a lot of naked chimneys, and many of them had been thrown down.

I did not know who fired these towns, and did not learn, but they were probably fired by the cavalry. I know they could not have been fired by our column, because we reached there only a few hours after the first of our troops crossed the river, and even if our advance had fired them, they would not have been completely burned by the time we arrived. But they had been burned all the same, and the picture they presented recalled in a vivid way the words of the parting Generals and caused me to think that General Slocum was not the only one who had been cautioned to remember that when we crossed the river we would be in South Carolina.

These were, however, the only towns I saw burned or in any way unnecessarily mistreated during all that celebrated march.

A large part of Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, was burned, and there was a fierce controversy between General Sherman and various Confederate authorities as to responsibility therefor; but our column did not enter that city and I have no personal knowledge of the facts.

Our march through the Carolinas differed from that through Georgia chiefly as conditions were different. While marching through Georgia we were favored with good weather and fine roads that led through a beautiful and bountiful country. Before leaving Atlanta Sherman issued a general order, in which he told us, among other things, that on our march we would have to subsist largely on the country, and that we would therefore be allowed to "forage liberally." This we did, and doing so, found an abundance to supply our wants.

In the Carolinas it was different. Instead of November and December we had February and March; instead of the weather being pleasant it was inclement,—heavy, cold rains poured down upon us almost constantly, particularly during the early weeks of the campaign; instead of dry, firm ground we had water-soaked roads; rivers were at flood tide and marshes and swamps were well-nigh impassable. The soil was poor and the food supply scarce.

Our foragers had hard work to find enough to meet our necessities. We had better weather and better roads later in the campaign. In fact, the whole situation improved as we neared and passed into North Carolina. And yet we had there some heavy rains, bad roads and high rivers to cross. There was mud everywhere at both Averysboro and Bentonville.

General Slocum was always alert to get information about the roads, the enemy and the sentiments of the people. In this behalf he questioned, or had some one question, every intelligent-looking citizen we chanced to meet and had opportunity to talk with. As we passed through South Carolina we were told by almost every one we interviewed that he was a Union man, and that he wished for our success. We discounted all these statements, sometimes with derision,

thinking that they were made only to deceive and get protection.

We were anxious to locate the boundary line between North and South Carolina, and to know exactly when we crossed it. To this end, when we knew we must be approaching it, General Slocum inquired about its location, or had some one inquire for him of all the native citizens whom we chanced to pass or meet. They kept telling us that we had not yet come to the line; that it was still some distance ahead; that we were still in South Carolina, and so forth and so on. Finally, after having gone some distance without seeing any one of whom we could make further inquiry, we saw ahead of us a middle-aged man standing in front of a log house that stood back from the road about three or four hundred feet, silently watching the marching column. When we came opposite to him the General turned from the road and rode up to where the man was standing. He prefaced his inquiry about the boundary line between the States with a remark that he supposed he was a Union man. The citizen answered, "No, I am not a Union man." The General next said to him, "Then I suppose you are a Secessionist." The citizen answered, "No, I am not a Secessionist, either." The General then said, "If you are not a Union man or a Secessionist, please tell me what you are?" The old man answered, "I am a Rebel." The General turned to his staff and said, ". . . we have crossed the line." And so we had.

Before asking about the State line, however, the General sought to get a line on the political status of the man he was interviewing. In the short conversation that ensued he found him very intelligent and very sturdy in his opinions. He informed the General that he had never believed in the doctrine of secession, but he did believe that any people had a right to rebel against any government; that as a Southern man his sympathies were with the South, and, therefore, while he did not believe a State had a constitutional right to withdraw from the Union at pleasure, he did believe that a State had a natural right to rebel, and that inasmuch as his State had taken action equivalent to rebellion, his

sympathies were with the Confederacy, and that only his age and his infirmities had prevented him from going into the Confederate army. He excited the admiration of all who heard him, and I am sure the General would have shown him any favor within his power to grant, that he might have asked; but he wanted nothing.

It was thought by the Confederates when our campaign commenced that Charleston was our objective point. On that account many valuables were taken back from the city and its vicinity to the interior of the State for safe keeping until we should have come and gone.

Many of these things were so removed from places where they would have been safe, if allowed to remain there, and put directly in our pathway. As a rule everything that admitted of such treatment was buried or hidden away in some manner in the ground. The soldiers soon learned this, and as a result they were to be seen every day spread out over the country through which we were passing in regular line of battle, as it were, not only looking for horses, mules, cattle, hogs, chickens, hams, bacon and other things we needed, but prodding the ground with their bayonets or with sharp sticks with which they had provided themselves, in search of soft places where something had been secreted.

In this way they found not only jewelry, silver plate and fine china, but also fine wines,—port, Madeira, sherry and native wines; among others was a native wine called scuppernong. There were large quantities of this, but there were so many to drink it, and such careful supervision of the use of it by the officers, that I did not hear of any one becoming intoxicated.

These discoveries and recoveries were numerous in the country around about Cheraw and Fayetteville. On the day the Twentieth Corps reached Fayetteville, where we remained a day or two, General Slocum wanted a message carried to General Ward, who was commanding one of the divisions of the Twentieth Corps. All his regular staff officers being just then otherwise engaged, he asked me to hunt up General Ward's headquarters and deliver his message to him.

In doing so I found on arrival at his location that his tents were only then being pitched, and that he, surrounded by his staff, was sampling some scuppernong. I delivered my message. In the conversation that followed some one complimented the wine, and asked him how much he had. He answered, "Some of them got some, but I got only a barrel and a half!" He was a Kentuckian and a brave and gallant soldier, who, while neither a Prohibitionist nor a Sunday school teacher, yet never drank to excess, as his facetious remark indicated he might have done under favorable circumstances. His remark is remembered and given a place in these personal notes because it was widely repeated at the time and because it shows that even war had some humorous sides; at least our part of it.

The most pleasing event connected with our stay at Fayetteville was the arrival of a small steamboat that had come up the Cape Fear river with the mail, the latest newspapers and good reports generally as to the progress of the war and the prospects of peace. It put us once more in communication with the rest of the world and made us very happy. She tarried with us but a few hours, when she returned, bearing letters to our homes and messages to the public that gladdened the hearts of not only the thousands who heard from us directly, but the hearts also of the loyal millions of the North who had been for weeks anxiously waiting to hear in some reliable way from an army that had voluntarily cut itself off from the outside world to render a service of the most hazardous character, on the success or failure of which the fate of the Union cause largely depended.

After two or three days, during which time other boats came and went, and all the army caught up and got more or less rested, we started on what may be called the last leg of our journey to Goldsboro; four divisions of the left wing going by way of Averysboro to Bentonville, while the right wing struck out directly for Goldsboro, but afterward turned aside to Bentonville to help the left wing in that battle.

We knew of the battles of Franklin and Nashville and how thoroughly General Thomas had vindicated the confidence reposed in him when he was intrusted with the duty of "taking care of Hood." We knew that the scattered remnants not only of Hood's army, but of all the other armies outside of Virginia, were being gathered together and hurried across the country to be concentrated in our front to stop and destroy "Sherman's vandals." We knew that General Joseph E. Johnston had been assigned to the command of these troops, and we knew of his great ability as a commander and that he was a wily and skillful strategist and all-around dangerous enemy. We knew that in all probability somewhere between Fayetteville and Goldsboro he would dispute our further progress. Preparatory therefor General Slocum sent all his wagon trains, guarded by two divisions, on interior roads, while two divisions of the Fourteenth Corps and two divisions of the Twentieth Corps, in light marching order and ready for instant action, took the outside roads leading first north along the Cape Fear river to Averysboro and then making a sharp turn to the right almost due east to Bentonville. The right wing also sent their wagons on interior roads, guarded by two divisions, while the other four divisions, stripped for battle, followed roads well to the south on the right of us.

It is not my purpose to write history, but only to jot down a few personal notes. I do not stop, therefore, to describe either the battle of Averysboro or the battle of Bentonville. It is not necessary, for history has done that elaborately. It is sufficient to say here that it was my fortune to actively participate in both these engagements, not as a Signal Officer, for the level and wooded country made it impossible to do any work of that kind, but as Aide-de-camp to General Slocum, who gave me a great deal of that kind of work to do. At Averysboro it was only such work as was usual,—the carrying of orders, etc. At Bentonville, however, it was somewhat different.

General Sherman joined us while the battle of Averysboro was in progress and remained with our column until the

morning of the 19th. That morning he left us to join Howard and travel with the right wing that he might the sooner meet Generals Schofield and Terry, who, coming up from Newberne, were expected to connect with our right at Cox's Bridge. Before he left us our column was already on the march and already there was a spirited skirmish firing going on at the front. General Sherman and everybody else at the time when he left us were of the opinion, however, that there was nothing in our front except only some cavalry, or at most only a small force that could not impede our march. As he said good-by to General Slocum and rode away, he spoke cheerily of the fact that we were nearing the end of the campaign and that there no longer appeared to be any reason to apprehend any further serious opposition. He had not been gone long, however, before the troops at the front were halted and the scattering shots seemed to increase. Finally it occurred to Major William G. Tracy, of General Slocum's staff, and to myself that it might be well for us to ride to the front and find out exactly what the situation was. We told General Slocum what we had in mind, and he approved. It was probably a mile from where we left the General until we reached the head of the column. When we did so we found it halted at the edge of an open space of ground, perhaps a quarter of a mile in width, beyond which there was the usual pine woods. Our line of skirmishers was about half way across this field and two or three regiments were being formed in rear of it as reserves, indicating that the line had met with so much resistance that the officer in command was strengthening it before undertaking to advance farther. We rode down toward where the reserves were being formed, and as we did so, the command to advance was given. The skirmishers rushed forward to the edge of the woods, the reserves following down in supporting distance. When our line thus started forward there was instantly opened upon them a fierce musketry fire from what turned out to be a line of outposts, each post more or less protected by a light intrenchment or barricade made of logs, rails, etc. These outposts were

situated far enough back in the pine woods not to be seen until we got near them. When the firing commenced Tracy and I were within range of the enemy's bullets. We were there as mere volunteers, as it were, and felt somewhat uncomfortable because of the situation in which we found ourselves,—under fire without ability to return it and without being able to render any kind of service as a compensation for our exposure. We were mounted and each had an orderly with him. We made, therefore, a rather conspicuous mark for the enemy. Before we had time to consider what we should do, Major Tracy was wounded; a bullet passed through his boot-leg and wounded him between the knee and the ankle. I dismounted to examine as to the extent of his injuries and found that they were not so serious but that he could ride back on his horse. I sent him back with his orderly. By the time I was able to remount our skirmishers and their reserves had driven the enemy from his intrenchments, back through the woods, out of sight. I went forward to investigate. When I came to what had been the enemy's line I saw a wounded Confederate whom I shall never forget. He was seriously wounded, perhaps fatally. Two or three Union soldiers were gathered about him, trying to give him assistance, but he would not allow them to do anything for him. To everything said to him he answered by reaching about him for sticks, pebbles or anything he could get hold of and viciously throwing them at his would-be good Samaritans. I observed that he was an infantryman and was hoping I might be able to get from him some information as to the forces in front of us, but before I could do so a squad came from the front guarding some prisoners who had been captured and from whom we learned that Joe Johnston was in front of us with his entire army, estimated by them at about forty thousand men, or more than twice the number of the four divisions we had marching on that road. This was such important news and, under the circumstances, so surprising that I felt it my duty to ride back to General Slocum and give him the information. I did so as hurriedly as possible, but found

the General already informed. The same information had reached him from another source, and he was himself hurrying to the front and had already ordered the troops from the rear to move forward as rapidly as possible and take position on either side of the road, correctly assuming that if Johnston was there in force, he would probably try to attack our marching column before it could be deployed, and thus throw us into confusion and drive us back on the troops in the rear, the result of which could not have been otherwise than disastrous. I never before saw troops so hurried into battle. Carlin's division of the Fourteenth Corps was in the advance. It was quickly deployed on the left of the road on which we were marching. Morgan's division, also of the Fourteenth Corps, immediately following Carlin, was rushed into position on the right of the road. The artillery came to the front and into place in a gallop. The two divisions of the Twentieth Corps were coming forward as rapidly as possible to take position on our left, but before they arrived the firing in front of Carlin, who had advanced his line to develop the strength and exact position of the enemy, grew heavier and more significant. It soon became evident that the enemy was taking the offensive. Presently our skirmishers were seen retiring, and, following them, in long lines of gray, came what we afterward learned was the whole of Hoke's Division. It was composed of veterans of Lee's army, and had just come up from Wilmington, where it had been stationed for some time, and where it had been well-fed, clothed, drilled and rested. It was the flower of Johnston's forces and doubtless as fine a division as there was at that time in the whole Confederate army. We had only Carlin's Division in line, with Morgan's taking position on Carlin's right, when this assault was made. The assailants greatly outnumbered those already in line to receive them, but these gave them such a warm welcome and made such a stubborn resistance that, although Carlin was compelled to fall back a short distance, to where we were establishing our main line, yet there was no demoralization whatever in his ranks. His men were veterans who could not be stampeded.

They preserved their alignment and fought so fiercely that they soon had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy waver and then break and retreat.

In due time the two divisions of the Twentieth Corps, Jackson's and Ward's, reached the position assigned them on the left of Carlin. The line thus made was reinforced by all the artillery of the four divisions. The enemy re-formed and again and again returned to the attack, but each time to find our line better able to receive him and each time better able to inflict repulse and defeat.

When the first assault was commencing General Slocum, no longer doubting the serious situation that confronted him, wrote a message to Sherman, giving him full information and asking for assistance. Turning to his staff to select some one to carry it, I was both surprised and pleased when he beckoned to me. Handing me the message, he told me it was for General Sherman; that he wanted it put into his hands at the earliest possible moment and that he wanted me to take it to him. He told me in a general way where I could find him and that I should ride well to the right to avoid the left flank of the enemy, but to keep a southerly direction until I found the road on which the General was marching, then to pursue and overtake him. His last words were, "And don't spare horseflesh." I obeyed his orders as promptly and literally as I could and was fortunate enough to give satisfaction to both Generals. Both have told enough of this ride to make it unnecessary for me to do more than to quote what they have said. In the *Century Magazine* for October, 1887, will be found an article by General Slocum, giving an account of the battle of Bentonville, in the course which he says, speaking of this incident:

> This information was carried to General Sherman by a young man not then twenty years of age, but who was full of energy and activity and was always reliable. He was then the youngest member of my staff. He is now Governor of Ohio—Joseph B. Foraker. His work on this day secured his promotion to the rank of Captain. Some years after the close of the war Foraker wrote me, calling my attention to some errors in a published account of this battle of Bentonville, and although

his letter was private, his statements are so full of interest that I feel certain I shall be pardoned for giving an extract from it.

"Firing between the men on the skirmish line commenced before Sherman had left us on the morning of the 19th, but it was supposed there was nothing but cavalry in our front. It was kept up steadily, and constantly increased in volume. Finally there was a halt in the column. You expressed some anxiety, and Major W. G. Tracy and I rode to the front to see what was going on. At the edge of the open fields next to the woods in which the barricades were we found our skirmish line halted. . . . In a few minutes it moved forward again. The enemy partly reserved their fire until it got half way or more across the field. This induced Tracy and me to think there was but little danger, and so we followed up closely, until suddenly they began again a very spirited firing, in the midst of which we were sorry to find ourselves. I remember we hardly knew what to do,—we could do no good by going on and none by remaining. To be killed under such circumstances would look like a waste of raw material, we thought. But the trouble was to get out. We didn't want to turn back, as we thought that would not look well. While we were thus hesitating a spent ball struck Tracy on the leg, giving him a slight but painful wound. Almost at the same moment our skirmishers charged and drove the rebels. . . . I rode back with Tracy only a very short distance, when we met you hurrying to the front. I found you had already been informed of what had been discovered and that you had already sent orders to everybody to hurry to the front. I remember, too, that a little later Major Mosely, I think, though it may have been some other member of your staff, suggested that you ought to have the advance division charge and drive them out of the way; that it could not be possible that there was much force ahead of us, and that if we waited for the others to come up we should lose a whole day, and if it should turn out that there was nothing to justify such caution, it would look bad for the left wing, to which you replied in an earnest manner, 'I can afford to be charged with being dilatory or over cautious, but I cannot afford the responsibility of another Ball's Bluff affair.' Do you remember it? I presume not, but I was then quite young, and such remarks made a lasting impression. It excited my confidence and admiration, and was the first moment that I began to feel that there was really serious work before us. . . . You handed me a written message to take to General Sherman. The last words you spoke to me as I started were, 'Ride well to the right, so as to keep clear of the enemy's left flank, and don't spare horseflesh.' I reached General Sherman just about sundown. He was on the left side of the road on a sloping hillside, where, as I understood, he had halted only a few minutes before for the night. His staff were about him. I think General Howard was there,—but I do not now remember seeing him,—but on the hillside twenty yards further up Logan was lying on a blanket. Sherman saw me approaching and walked briskly towards me, took your message, tore it open, read it, and called out, 'John Logan! Where is Logan?'

Just then Logan jumped up and started towards us. He, too, walked briskly, but before he reached us Sherman had informed him of the situation and ordered him to turn Hazen back and have him report to you. It was not yet dark when I rode away, carrying an answer to your message. It was after midnight when I got back, the ride back being so much longer in point of time because the road was full of troops, it was dark and my 'horseflesh' was used up!"

At a reunion of the Army of the Tennessee held in Music Hall, Cincinnati, in September, 1889, at which time I was Governor and a candidate for re-election, General Sherman, in the course of his remarks, turning to me, said:

I well remember you as you rode into my quarters when Joe Johnston struck my left in North Carolina. You burst upon us in a grove of pines, with a message from Slocum, saying that he needed to be reinforced. I recall your figure, sir, splashed with mud, your spurs that were red, your splendid horse, hard-ridden and panting, and how you sat erect; and I shall not forget the soldier that you looked and were. A knight errant with steel cuirass, his lance in hand, was a beautiful thing, and you are his legitimate successor. I marked you well then, and thought of the honors that were your due. You have gloriously attained them, and I believe and approve that higher, the highest honors, await you.

I had not the slightest intimation beforehand of what General Sherman was to say. I was, therefore, greatly surprised, as well as much gratified. His speech naturally attracted a great deal of attention. It was reproduced and commented on in the newspapers far and wide, not only in prose, but also in verse. I take the liberty of preserving, by incorporating it here, the following, published soon thereafter in the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, written, I imagine, from the place where it is dated, by Dr. H. S. Fullerton:

To Ben Foraker.

(Upon reading General Sherman's speech at the reunion of the Army of the Tennessee, September 25, 1889).

Down in the gloom of Southern pines
Reel and stagger Slocum's lines,
For, in the darkness of battle smoke,
Treason is dealing its dying stroke,
And the heroes of many a bloody field
Crushed by numbers will not yield.

Far through the swamps a horseman rides;
Lathered with foam are his horse's sides;
Spattered with mud the rider's dress,
None a knight is he the less.

No white plume floats above his crest,
No brave trappings adorn his breast;
A fatigue cap pulled over his brows,
His knightly apparel an old blue blouse.

Not for ribbon or rose, or glove,
Not for guerdon of lady's love,
Rides the knight through swamps and pines,
He rides for help for Slocum's lines.

Grim old Sherman, miles away,
Had heard the thunder of battle that day.
Up to his tent with morn's first light
Galloped this muddy, boyish knight.

"General Slocum needs help," he said.
Back to Slocum the help he led.
The rebel hosts were beaten away,
And our battles ended on that day.

Honor to him to whom honor is due,
Honor the knightly boy in blue,
Knightly in peace as knightly in war,
No mud-sticks on our Governor!

Hillsboro, Ohio, September 27.

The next two days, the 20th and 21st, were spent in bringing up the available divisions of the right wing, investing the lines of the enemy and pressing him sufficiently to develop exactly his position and strength.

The 22nd would no doubt have witnessed an assault by the Union force had the enemy waited to receive it, but during the night of the 21st he withdrew from his intrenchments and retreated toward Smithfield and Raleigh. When morning came he was so far on his way as to show clearly that his opposition was ended, and that we could resume our march to Goldsboro without fear of further armed interference.

While the troops were being put into the marching column a notable group of distinguished Generals gathered at Gen-

eral Slocum's headquarters, which happened to be by the side of the road on which most of the troops must pass, as they came from their respective places in our lines of battle, to reach their appointed places.

General Sherman, General Slocum, General Davis of the Fourteenth Corps, General John A. Logan of the Fifteenth Corps, General Frank P. Blair of the Seventeenth Corps, and General A. S. Williams of the Twentieth Corps, were all present. Probably General Howard and some of the division Commanders were also there, but I have a distinct recollection only as to those I have mentioned.

With those present were their respective staffs, so there were enough of them, all told, to make up a pretty large company. They were a happy lot of men. All realized that our campaign was closing even more gloriously than had ended the march through Georgia, and that the two campaigns taken together would be considered one of the most efficient as well as spectacular strokes of the entire war, which we all felt was then practically at an end.

All congratulated General Sherman in the heartiest manner and spoke in the most glowing terms of the high place he would hold in history. His answers to such compliments were plain, blunt remarks, which showed that, while he, too, was happy and appreciated what they said, he had no undue elation or improper vanity. He took occasion to give generous credit for what had been accomplished to his subordinate Generals and the splendid army he commanded, for which he had only the most enthusiastic words of praise.

Finally some one, I think either General Logan or General Blair, said to him that his two campaigns would make him so exceedingly popular that the people would make him the next President of the United States. To this he quickly and curtly and in almost the exact words following, answered that he had no ambition to ever hold any political office, and that he would never be a candidate for President, or anything else; and that, so far as popularity with the American people was concerned, that was an uncertain factor

GENERAL WM. T. SHERMAN,
1865.

anyhow, for they were as mercurial in political temperament as the French; that they would exalt today and tear down tomorrow, and do it with a wicked viciousness that indicated that they enjoyed it.

He then went on to say that he made these comments not only from observation, but from actual and painful experience, for he could never forget how Grant was almost destroyed after the battle of Shiloh by the charge that he was a drunkard; or when he himself was almost ruined by the charge that he was crazy because he told the Secretary of War in the fall of 1861 that he should have an army of at least 60,000 men for the defense of Kentucky, and that 200,000 men would be needed for a successful prosecution of the war in that department.

He said Grant stood by him and he stood by Grant, each knowing that the charges against the other were the wicked creations of envy and jealousy; but that it was by the narrowest margin that each escaped being driven out of the army in disgrace; that it followed from all this that he might be popular then, and not popular when the time came to choose another Chief Magistrate.

I recalled these words with keen appreciation of their truthfulness and prophetic-like character when only three or four weeks later he fell, in a moment, as it were, into nation-wide disfavor on account of the armistice he granted General Joe Johnston, and because of the terms of the convention he entered into with Johnston for the surrender of all the Confederate armies.

This convention, although expressing the views of Sherman, yet was only a tentative draft submitted by him through proper channels for the approval of the President. It was a paper that should not have been published at the time, yet the Secretary of War, with apparent purpose to injure General Sherman, gave it to the press, coupled with an official statement, in which he practically characterized it as a treasonable surrender of the results of the war, and calculated to make it possible for Jefferson Davis to flee from the country and thus escape punishment. The Secretary also

announced in this statement that when Davis fled from Richmond he carried with him from six to thirteen millions of dollars in gold, and by innuendo charged that such part of this sum as might be necessary was to be used to corrupt the army and make his flight successful.

The New York papers that had been praising Sherman in the most extravagant language turned upon him at once columns of bitter criticism and denunciation.

One issue of the New York *Herald* that reached us at Raleigh was so offensive that General Slocum ordered it gathered up and destroyed.

The protocol agreed upon by Sherman with Johnston was almost universally disapproved; but there never was at any time the slightest ground for any of the charges or insinuations made by the Secretary.

I am not mentioning this matter for the purpose of discussing either the merits of the agreement or the charges of the Secretary, but only to point out that General Sherman's own words, spoken on his last battlefield to his comrades in arms in a private conversation had so quickly and so thoroughly received confirmation in his own personal experience. Sherman has explained and defended his action in this matter in his "Memoirs" and in other writings.

His contention was that what he did was consistent with what he understood Mr. Lincoln to indicate would be his wish in such a contingency in a conference he had with him and General Grant at City Point, where he went to meet them immediately after reaching Goldsboro.

He naturally felt indignant that, notwithstanding his illustrious services, Mr. Stanton should make charges against him that reflected upon both his loyalty and his integrity.

Sherman says in his "Memoirs" that the Secretary in what he said ". . . assumed that I was a common traitor and a public enemy."

The remainder of our journey to Goldsboro was uneventful except that at Cox's Bridge, where we crossed the Neuse river, we met General Alfred Terry, with two divisions of the Tenth Corps, and at Goldsboro, where we arrived and went

into camp on the 24th, we found General Schofield with the Twenty-third Corps.

These troops gave us a cordial welcome and swelled the total of our army to something like ninety thousand men.

The four corps that had come through the Carolinas were in sore need of all kinds of supplies, especially shoes, blankets and clothing. Many men were practically barefooted, and hundreds had lost their trousers from their knees down, leaving a handsome but unprotected display of bare legs.

The program was to remain at Goldsboro only long enough to replenish and then start on another campaign northward toward Richmond, with Lee's army and the remnants of Johnston's forces as our objective point.

Requisitions were at once made for all needed supplies upon Quartermasters at Fortress Monroe and Norfolk. Not getting satisfactory answers and fearing the supplies asked for would not reach us in time unless specially looked after by some one, General Slocum directed me, on Saturday, April 1st, to proceed at once via Newberne to Fortress Monroe to hasten as much as possible the filling of our orders. I went that night to Newberne by rail. We had only freight cars to travel in and the road was in such bad repair that our train was derailed three times before we got there. In this way I was so much delayed that I arrived there too late to catch a desirable boat on which to travel, or any boat at all, until Monday, the 3rd, when I took passage on the El Cid, a small tub of a craft, on which we had such inferior accommodations that the trip, my first ocean voyage, was a very disagreeable one; but, notwithstanding all the discomforts to which we were subjected, we reached safely Fortress Monroe on the sixth of April. As I stepped on shore I heard the newspaper boys crying, "All about the loss of the General Lyon," one of the boats on which I had hoped I might get passage. I got a paper and read how that ship had been accidentally destroyed by fire off Cape Hatteras, and how almost her entire crew and something like four hundred passengers had perished in the flames or by drowning. I thought of Alfred Skeen, the ever-patient, never-complaining blind man, whom I have

mentioned as one of the valued friends and acquaintances of my boyhood, and never afterwards complained of the El Cid. It had at least landed us safely at our destination, and that was infinitely better than to have been a passenger on a better but ill-fated boat.

I found that everything had been done, and was being done, to honor our requisitions that was possible, and, therefore, returned to Newberne at once, going by the canal route, or inside route, as it was then called, rather than wait even a day for a suitable boat that would carry me back over the outside passage, for I knew the army was under orders to move on the 10th and that if I wanted to go with it there was no time, not even an hour, to be lost.

When I reached Goldsboro on the 11th I found that the army had started on its march toward Smithfield and Raleigh the day before. I pressed into the service a horse some "bummer" had abandoned and started all alone in pursuit.

I overtook the rear guard that night and the next day rejoined General Slocum and his staff. Before we reached Raleigh we heard that Lee had surrendered. We regarded that as the end, except only for the negotiations and formalities that must precede and attend the surrender of General Johnston's forces.

We were in a most happy frame of mind, therefore, when we reached Raleigh, where we remained until the end of the month, and where we would have greatly enjoyed our stay had it not been for the assassination of President Lincoln, of which we heard while there, and the assaults on General Sherman because of the nature of his peace agreement with General Johnston, of which mention has already been made.

The attack on General Sherman excited indignation throughout the army and the assassination of President Lincoln filled our hearts and minds with distress and forebodings that can be better imagined than described.

While here I received official notice that I had been appointed by the President of the United States a Brevet Captain of United States volunteers, to rank as such from

the 19th day of March, the first day of the battle of Bentonville, and the day on which I carried General Slocum's message to General Sherman. Shortly afterward I was relieved from duty as an acting Signal Officer and assigned to duty on General Slocum's staff as an Aide-de-camp.

The notice read that I had been thus promoted "for efficient services during the recent campaigns in Georgia and the Carolinas." I was greatly surprised because until I was thus officially informed I was not aware that I had been even thought of for promotion. General Slocum had recommended me immediately after we reached Goldsboro.

May 1st we started for Washington via Richmond. It was a gala day march all the way,—at times triumphal. I quote from my diary of Thursday, May 11th, as follows:

"Army of Georgia (14th and 20th Corps) with General Sherman and General Slocum riding at the head of the column, marched through Richmond at a right shoulder shift. . . . Headquarters tonight at Hanover Court House, where Patrick Henry made his first speech. It was a proud day."

We had reached Manchester on the opposite side of the James river from Richmond Sunday evening, May 7th. This gave us a few days to look up points and places of special interest. I took time to visit Libby Prison, where the officers of my regiment captured at Chickamauga had been confined. It was a filthy old bastile, of which a truthful description would excite incredulity. Suffice it to say a personal inspection confirmed all the bad things that had ever then been said about it or that have ever since been said about it.

The treatment of our prisoners there and at Salisbury and at Andersonville is the one black, unforgivable chapter in the history of the rebellion.

We continued our march to Washington by stages easy enough to enable us to take a look at the most important of the battlefields near which we passed.

General Slocum's early service had been with the Army of the Potomac. He and a number of his staff participated in

nearly all the great battles fought by McClellan. As he took occasion to ride over these different fields it was intensely interesting to listen to the explanations and comments that were made. Everywhere the evidences remained of the fierce and bloody struggles through which the Army of the Potomac had passed.

In due time we reached Alexandria, Virginia. At last we saw with our own eyes the historic Potomac. Just before we entered the city, at a point where another road intersected ours, we found a halted column of cavalry. It was the division of General George A. Custer, the famous cavalry leader of the Army of the Potomac, with him in command. He was splendidly mounted, strikingly dressed, and, with long, almost yellow hair hanging about his neck, he was indeed a gallant and picturesque figure. He was accompanied by his wife, who was also well mounted and becomingly attired in an attractive riding habit of semi-military style. She looked very young, pretty and happy. We were all young and happy then, and, although we had never personally known each other, yet all knew the two distinguished Generals and their splendid records well enough by reputation at least to make them and all the members of their respective staffs warmly fraternize without waiting for introductions or any other formality.

A few days later the Armies of the Potomac and Sherman's army were reviewed by the President and his Cabinet. All the distinguished Generals of the war, from General Grant down, who happened to be then in Washington, were present on the reviewing stand in front of the White House, where the President and his Cabinet stood.

The Army of the Potomac passed in review on the 23rd day of May; our army the day following.

This was fittingly called "The Grand Review." It was a spectacular, happy and triumphant last appearance and disappearance of the two mightiest armies our government has ever marshaled. With stately tread they carried their victory-crowned banners before the President, and then passed on to

their respective homes, there to be silently swallowed up in the ranks of our common citizenship,

". . . like the snowflake on the river,
A moment white, then gone forever!"

General Sherman took occasion, when he took his place on the reviewing stand, to publicly resent the indignities he had suffered at the hands of Secretary Stanton by refusing to shake hands with him, or to notice him in any manner whatever. There was some criticism of his action, but the almost universal comment was commendatory, for already the pendulum of public sentiment was swinging back to his side, where it has ever since remained.

This was my first visit to Washington. I rode with General Slocum's staff. Pennsylvania avenue was lined by tens of thousands of men, women and children, all shouting welcome and throwing bouquets at the officers and men as they passed.

Every officer and man of both armies seemed to realize the greatness and dignity of the occasion. There was naturally some good natured rivalry between the two armies that did no harm, but worked for good, for it made each strive to excel.

I witnessed the review of the Army of the Potomac on the first day as a spectator. The men marched splendidly and made a magnificent appearance, but I felt confident we would equal, if not do better, on the following day.

I find I wrote in my diary that we "beat them all to pieces." This expression was, of course, too strong, but I had in mind when I wrote it, not only the marching and the general appearance, but also the fact that our columns presented some special features, having relation to our recent campaigns, that the Army of the Potomac could not give; but instead of using my own language to describe this greatest military pageant ever witnessed on this continent, I quote what General Sherman says in his "Memoirs." It is more appropriate anyhow that this last event in our history should be portrayed by our great Commander.

After making due allowance for the partiality he must have felt every word I quote was fully justified by the facts. He said:

By invitation I was on the reviewing stand, and witnessed the review of the Army of the Potomac (on the 23d) commanded by General Meade in person. The day was beautiful and the pageant was superb. Washington was full of strangers, who filled the streets in holiday dress, and every house was decorated with flags. The army marched by divisions in close column around the Capitol, down Pennsylvania avenue, past the President and Cabinet, who occupied a large stand prepared for the occasion, directly in front of the White House.

I had telegraphed to Lancaster for Mrs. Sherman, who arrived that day, accompanied by her father, the Hon. Thomas Ewing, and my son Tom, then eight years old.

During the afternoon and night of the 23d the Fifteenth, Seventeenth and Twentieth Corps crossed Long Bridge, bivouacked in the streets about the Capitol, and the Fourteenth Corps closed up to the Bridge. The morning of the 24th was extremely beautiful and the ground was in splendid order for our review. The streets were filled with people to see the pageant, armed with bouquets of flowers for their favorite regiments or heroes, and everything was propitious. Punctually at 9 A. M. the signal gun was fired, when in person, attended by General Howard and all my staff, I rode slowly down Pennsylvania avenue, the crowds of men, women and children densely lining the sidewalks and almost obstructing the way. We were followed close by General Logan and the head of the Fifteenth Corps. When I reached the Treasury Building and looked back, the sight was simply magnificent. The column was compact, and the glittering muskets looked like a solid mass of steel, moving with the regularity of a pendulum. We passed the Treasury Building, in front of which and of the White House was an immense throng of people, for whom extensive stands had been prepared on both sides of the avenue. As I neared the brick house opposite the lower corner of Lafayette Square some one asked me to notice Mr. Seward, who, still feeble and bandaged, for his wounds, had been removed there that he might behold the troops. I moved in that direction and took off my hat to Mr. Seward, who sat at an upper window. He recognized the salute, returned it, and then we rode on steadily past the President, saluting with our swords. All on his stand arose and acknowledged the salute. Then, turning into the gate of the Presidential grounds, we left our horses with orderlies, and went upon the stand, where I found Mrs. Sherman, with her father and son. Passing them, I shook hands with the President, General Grant and each member of the Cabinet. As I approached Mr. Stanton he offered me his hand, but I declined it publicly, and the fact was universally noticed. I then took my post on the left of the President, and for six hours and a half stood while the army passed in the order of the Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Twentieth and Fourteenth Corps. It was in my judgment the most magnificent

GENERAL SLOCUM AND STAFF.

Standing:—Maj. R. M. McDowel, Lieut. W. E. Martin, Maj. W. Mosely, Col. H. E. Goodman, Med. D., Capt. J. B. Foraker, Capt. Sam'l H. Hurd, A. Q. M., Col. J. E. Reynolds, Ch. of Art.

Seated:—Lieut. Col. Platt M. Thorn, Inspector; Lieut. Col. E. W. Guindon, A. D. C.; Colonel Sterdivant, Ch. Commiss.; Maj. Gen. H. W. Slocum, Lieut. Col. Montgomery Rochester, A. A. Gen.; Lieut. Col. Robt. P. Dechert, A. A. Genl.; Col. H. M. Whittlesy, Ch. Q. M.

army in existence,—sixty-five thousand men, in splendid physique, who had just completed a march of nearly two thousand miles in a hostile country, in good drill, and who realized that they were being closely scrutinized by thousands of their fellow countrymen and by foreigners. Division after division passed, each commander of the army corps or division coming on the stand during the passage of his command, to be presented to the President, Cabinet and spectators. The steadiness and firmness of the tread, the careful dress on the guides, the uniform intervals between the companies, all eyes directly to the front, and tattered and bullet-riven flags, festooned with flowers, all attracted universal notice. Many good people, up to that time, had looked upon our Western army as a sort of mob; but the world then saw and recognized the fact that it was an army in the proper sense, well organized, well commanded and disciplined; and there was no wonder that it had swept through the South like a tornado. For six hours and a half that strong tread of the Army of the West resounded along Pennsylvania avenue; not a soul of that vast crowd of spectators left his place; and when the rear of the column had passed by, thousands of the spectators lingered to express their sense of confidence in the strength of a Government which could claim such an army.

Some little scenes enlivened the day and called for the laughter and cheers of the crowd. Each division was followed by six ambulances, as representative of its baggage train. Some of the division commanders had added, by way of variety, goats, milch cows and pack mules, whose loads consisted of game cocks, poultry, hams, etc., and some of them had the families of freed slaves along, with the women leading their children. Each division was preceded by its corps of black pioneers, armed with picks and spades. These marched abreast in double ranks, keeping perfect dress and step, and added much to the interest of the occasion. On the whole, the "grand review" was a splendid success, and was a fitting conclusion to "the campaign and the war."

A few days after the review General Slocum and his staff were photographed. All are shown in the group except Major William G. Tracy. He had been ill and was yet frail and weak, but was present at the gallery and took his place in line with the rest of us. He was standing at my right, but while the photographer was adjusting his instrument, he suddenly fainted and fell to the floor. He was unable to rejoin us, and so the picture was taken without him.

I reproduce it here. It will be seen that the spaces on my right and left between me and the next officers are wider than they should be. Tracy's dropping out was the cause.

One of the last things I did before leaving was to call upon General Sherman at his headquarters. I found him

in his tent busily writing. I told him I had come to say good-by, and that I had brought one of his pictures, a photograph which I had secured in Washington, and that I would like for him to do me the favor of putting his autograph on it. He was extremely cordial, autographed my photograph, and as we said good-by wished me every kind of success and prosperity.

The photograph had been taken only a few days before and was a perfect picture of the old hero as he then appeared.

A day or two later I was on my way to Camp Dennison, where I was mustered out on the 14th day of June, exactly thirty-five months to a day after I enlisted, and when I still lacked a few days, until July 5th, of being nineteen years of age. My regiment had been mustered out on the 7th of June at Washington, and then sent to Camp Dennison to be paid off and to receive their discharges, but on account of being on detached service I was not mustered out until I reached Camp Dennison. In this way it came about, as the record shows, that I was not only the first man to enlist in the 89th Regiment, but that I was also the last man to be mustered out.

The following day I went to Hillsboro, from there to my father's residence, still on the old farm place at Reece's Mills, where I found everybody well and rejoicing that the war was over, our cause victorious and the "boys" both home alive. It was indeed a time for thanksgiving and praise for the devout parents of that old-fashioned Methodist family. They celebrated the occasion by ascribing all to the goodness and mercy of God and pledging themselves anew to His service.

CHAPTER VIII.

BACK TO BOOKS.

MY army experience made me appreciate more keenly than I otherwise would the importance of education. I had observed that officers who had the benefits of a collegiate training showed a confidence in themselves in meeting, conversing and corresponding with others that I could not have, and that consequently they were not only more efficient but also correspondingly more respected.

I felt my deficiencies keenly, and was determined to overcome them to the full extent I might be able to do so.

The problem was how to defray the necessary expense. I had been careful to save all I could from my pay, but this saving, all told, amounted to only about seven hundred dollars. With promised assistance from my brother, and hoping I might be able to make something during the vacations, I determined to make the effort, and was successful, although I became involved in debt before I got to the place where I could be admitted to the bar, to such an extent that I was greatly embarrassed for several years.

To go back to books again was such a radical change from the experiences I had been having, that I found it necessary to practice a good deal of self-denial to make it a success. I got along better, however, than might have been expected.

I became a student in the academy at South Salem, Ohio, in September, 1865; the Rev. James A. I. Lowes, Principal, and his good wife, Cynthia, first assistant. I there took up the studies of Latin, Greek and higher mathematics, preparatory to a course in some college or university; which one not yet determined.

The following report shows how faithfully I reined myself down to real work:

SALEM ACADEMY.

REPORT OF STANDING.

Graded on the Scale of 100.

JOSEPH B. FORAKER.

English Studies	.99½
Natural and Moral Science	.....
Higher Mathematics	.99½
Latin and Greek Languages	.99
Composition and Elocution	.99
Bible Class Exercises	.99
General Conduct	100

Average, .99¼.

J. A. I. LOWES, *Principal.*

South Salem, Ohio, December 22, 1865.

This certificate fails, however, to tell the whole story. My service in the army had not only delayed my studies, but it had also interfered with general reading. All my spare time during the year was spent "catching up." I read in that way during the year Rollins' Ancient History, Plutarch's Lives, Dr. Dick's works, and made a good start on Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

After one year at the academy I entered in the fall of 1866 the Freshman class of the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio.

SOME DELAWARE FRIENDS.

I met there some of the staunchest friends it has been my fortune to have. Some of them had, like myself, been in the army. Among them Capt. Peter F. Swing, for many years a distinguished Judge of the Circuit Court, and now (1914) of the Court of Appeals of Hamilton County, Ohio, and "Major" William J. White, as he was then called. He had held the rank of Major at the close of the war and had served on the staff of Major-General M. D. Leggett. He served during the Spanish-American War as Colonel of the Third Ohio Infantry, and is now (1914) Governor of the

National Military Home at Dayton, Ohio. He is a splendid man, who has lived a life of great usefulness and honor.

Other ex-soldiers whom I met there and had the honor and good fortune to have the friendship and good will of in after years were Capt. John P. Rea, Capt. J. S. Clark, Rev. Samuel A. Keen, Charles Ewan Merritt, C. W. Everett and C. M. Vandenbark, all distinguished in their respective vocations and as citizens of high position and influence in their respective communities.

There were also lifelong friends born of that association who had not been soldiers. Among them Charles W. Cole, my first law partner; M. L. Buchwalter and John A. Rea, of whom I shall speak presently in another connection; Judge Charles W. Dustin, now living in retirement after a long and highly creditable service on the bench; Hon. John M. Pattison, who, after a most successful business career, was elected Governor of Ohio, but died at the beginning of his official term, beloved and mourned by all the people of the State; Bishop E. E. Hoss of the M. E. Church, South, one of the most brilliant men I have ever known; Hon. David K. Watson, who became the Attorney General of Ohio, and was the representative in Congress for a number of terms of the Columbus (O.) district. He is also the author of "Watson on the Constitution of the United States," a work of real merit, worthy of a place in every American library; W. W. Gurley, a leading lawyer of the Chicago bar; James M. DeCamp, distinguished in insurance circles; Hon. John F. Locke, of London, Ohio, who served with distinction in the Ohio Legislature, and who has held other official positions and places of trust and usefulness; Hon. John W. Barger, a farmer and business man of rare good sense and a true spirit of Americanism; Hon. W. H. Todhunter, all his busy life a leading citizen of Middletown, Ohio; Isaac V. Sutphin, long a prominent business man of Cincinnati, and many others whose names and friendships have been prized as among the most valued of my possessions, and of each of whom in testimony thereof it would be a pleasure to write at length if I could do so consistently with the character of

these notes. Neither can I more than mention the names of Professors McCabe, Williams, Whitlock, Seamans, Perkins, Hoyt and Newton, to all of whom I became warmly attached and to all of whom I am under deep and lasting obligations, not only for the work they did so patiently then, but also for many evidences of friendship in after years.

But among all the pleasing memories that attach to Delaware one remains to be mentioned that outranks all others, considered either separately or collectively. It was there I met, courted and became engaged to Miss Julia Bundy, daughter of Hon. H. S. Bundy, of Jackson County, Ohio, at that time, and for a number of terms, the Representative of his district in Congress. She was a student at the Ohio Wesleyan Female College and was graduated from that institution in the class of 1868. Our marriage followed October 4, 1870, and through all the years that have since followed she has been my faithful, efficient helpmeet, sharing alike my joys and my sorrows, my triumphs and my defeats. No man was ever blessed with a better wife. When that is said all is said, for it includes and is intended to include all that is embraced in the entire range of the rights, privileges, responsibilities and duties of wife, mother and companion in an American family.

Having concluded to adopt the law as a profession I registered with General John S. Jones, a prominent lawyer of Delaware, as a student and commenced reading law at odd times, thus substituting Blackstone, Chitty, Kent, Story and other legal lore for miscellaneous literature.

Cornell University.

I continued at Delaware thus studying in the university and reading law with my preceptor, until the end of the fall term of 1868, at which time, finding myself far enough along with my studies to think I could enter the senior class of Cornell University, I changed to that institution, successfully passed the examinations and was graduated in the classical course July 1, 1869. This was the first class graduated from that institution. Two other Delaware students became members of that same first class,—John A. Rea and Morris L. Buchwalter, both good students, both

successful in after life and both good friends then and ever since. Rea made his home in the far West, where he has been successful in business and has been called upon to serve the public in various places of trust and confidence. Buchwalter became a prominent member of the Cincinnati bar, and has served a number of terms as Judge of the Common Pleas Court of Hamilton County. It is interesting to recall that of that first class graduated from that great institution of New York, situated at Ithaca, in the mid-interior of the State, four of the eight members were contributed by Ohio institutions; for, in addition to the three from the Ohio Wesleyan University, Marietta College had a brilliant representative in the person of the afterward distinguished divine, the Rev. Dudley Ward Rhodes. It is also interesting to note that all four of these Ohio contributions are (1914) still living and actively engaged in the affairs of life. So far as I am informed, only two of the eight have died.

I First Hear of the Philippines.

Recalling that class reminds me that in November, 1896, after McKinley had been elected President, I received a letter from O. F. Williams, one of the eight members, telling me he had been engaged in educational work almost continuously since he left Cornell in 1869; that he had been successful and was then connected, I think, as superintendent, with the schools of Rochester, N. Y., but that he wanted to change employment and was anxious to secure a good place in the consular service, Montreal, Canada, preferred, and hoped I might remember him well enough and agreeably enough to recommend him. I did so and the President said he would bear him in mind and find a place for him if he could, but that he could not say more until after he was inaugurated and better acquainted with the situation; that if Professor Williams would then come to Washington he would see and let him know what, if anything, he could do for him. Accordingly, soon after the McKinley administration was under way Professor Williams called on me in Washington, reminded me of the arrangement, and asked me to secure a conference with the President, whom we found

in good humor and with a clear recollection of what he had promised, but apprehensive he would not be able to give the Professor a desirable place. He told us to call the next day, when he would know better how to talk to us. We did so, and were told by the President that there was only one place available, and that he hesitated to mention it, for he understood it was not of desirable character on account of climate, people and remoteness from the United States and the important countries of the world, and then told us the place was Manila, "somewhere away around on the other side of the world, he did not know exactly where, for he had not had time to look it up." That was the first time I ever heard of the Philippine Islands in such a way as to remember them.

The Professor had the advantage of both of us. He had a very good general knowledge of the Philippines, and said at once that he would really like very much to go there. The President appointed him a few days later, and in due time Williams was at his post of duty.

A year passed, and Williams was instructed to report to Commodore Dewey, commanding the Pacific squadron of the United States Navy, then at Hongkong, and give him all available information, etc.

He did so, and had the proud privilege of returning to Manila Bay on the flagship Olympia, and of remaining on that ship during the battle of May 1, 1898.

He rightly accounted himself most fortunate in the assignment given him. As he expressed it, he had something to tell that it would always be interesting for others to hear. But he did not live long to tell of the great historic event of which it was his fortune to be not only a witness, but also a participant. Three or four years later he died from some disease contracted either there or at some other place in the Orient to which he had been transferred.

Only one other member of that class of 1869, the Rev. George F. Behringer, has died until this time, October, 1914, more than forty-five years.

I made the acquaintance at Cornell of Andrew D. White, the first President, Goldwin Smith, then lecturing there, and

many others connected with the organization and beginning of that institution, whom it was an honor and a help to know.

Locate in Cincinnati.

After finishing there I permanently located, August 16, 1869, in Cincinnati, as a student of the law, with Messrs. Sloane and Donham, at that time prominent attorneys, with offices in Pike's Building, situated on the south side of Fourth street, where the Sinton Hotel now stands.

My reading with General Jones, who gave me the proper certificate, enabled me to take and pass the necessary examinations and to be admitted to the practice of the law October 14, 1869, by the District Court of Hamilton County, Judge Joseph Cox presiding; Judges Manning F. Force and Charles C. Murdock, associates.

At that time we had in Hamilton County in the State Courts only six trial Judges—three of the Court of Common Pleas and three of the Superior Court of Cincinnati. The intermediate courts were the District Court and the Superior Court in General Term, composed respectively of the trial Judges sitting as District Judges and in General Term.

The Judges of the Superior Court at that time were Bellamy Storer, Alphonso Taft and Marcellus B. Hagans. It is the highest praise to say they were worthily upholding the high rank that court had held from its organization, when its Judges were Storer, Spencer and Gholson, three names still justly renowned in the history of the judiciary of Ohio.

Humphrey H. Leavitt, appointed by President Jackson, was the United States District Judge for the Southern District of Ohio. He was in appearance the most venerable official I have ever known. He was a veritable link connecting not only different generations, but what seemed in that day, just after the Civil war, when a new order of things had been freshly inaugurated, like different civilizations as well.

Warner M. Bateman was U. S. District Attorney and Charles H. Blackburn was the Prosecuting Attorney of Hamilton County, both able and efficient officials.

Flamen Ball, the law partner at one time of Salmon P. Chase and Edward P. Cranch, were Registers in Bankruptcy.

Stanley Matthews and his brother, C. Bentley Matthews, George Hoadly, George E. Pugh, William M. Ramsey, Vachel Worthington, Aaron F. Perry, Rufus King, John F. Follett, David M. Hyman, T. D. Lincoln, Alexander Long, Isaac M. Jordan, Edward Colston, Patrick Mallon, John Coffey, E. A. Ferguson, C. W. Moulton, C. D. Coffin, Channing Richards, E. W. Kittredge, William B. Caldwell, Benjamin Butterworth, John B. Stallo, John C. Healy, Henry C. Whitman, Edgar M. Johnson, George R. Sage, Thornton M. Hinkle, William L. Avery, Thomas B. Paxton, Hiram D. Peck, J. R. Sayler, Myron H. Tilden, Isaac C. Collins, John W. Herron, Timothy A. O'Connor, Alfred Yaple, W. T. Forest, I. J. Miller, Chris Von Seggern and Moses F. Wilson, were among the leaders of the bar in active practice.

William S. Groesbeck, then in the enjoyment of the reputation of having made the best legal argument in defense of President Johnson at his impeachment trial; Henry Stanberry, Attorney General of the United States, under the administration of President Johnson; George H. Pendleton, a candidate for the nomination for President the year before and for Governor of Ohio at that time, and later a Senator of the United States, and later still Minister of the United States to Germany; and Edward F. Noyes, afterward Governor of Ohio and United States Minister to France, were honored members of the legal profession, who had retired from active practice.

Judson Harmon, John W. Warrington, Lawrence Maxwell, Jr., William Worthington, Morris L. Buchwalter, Thomas McDougall, Clinton W. Gerard, C. D. Robertson and a number of others, who afterwards became distinguished members of the Cincinnati bar, and some of whom became judges for one or more terms, were admitted to the practice at or about the same time I was.

The mere mention of these names is sufficient to indicate the high character of the judiciary and the high standard of the legal profession of that day.

The leading newspapers were the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, owned and conducted by Washington McLean; the Cincin-

nati *Gazette*, edited by Richard Smith; the Cincinnati *Commercial*, edited by Murat Halstead; and the Cincinnati *Times*, edited by Joseph H. Barrett, all able, capable men.

Reuben R. Springer, David Sinton, Joseph Longworth, Charles Fleischmann, Samuel N. Pike, John Shillito, Robert Mitchell, Briggs Swift, William Henry Davis, A. D. Bullock, Henry Lewis, Miles Greenwood, Theodore Cooke, Thomas G. Smith, Andrew Hickenlooper, L. M. Dayton, W. S. Scarborough, L. B. Harrison, Chas. W. West, Benjamin Eggleston and David Gibson, are only a few of the leading citizens and business men of Cincinnati at that time. They were all men of decided ability who had not only been successful in business, but useful to the city and the state in all kinds of public-spirited service. Each had done his full share of the great work of laying the foundations of our municipality.

Doctors Comegys, Murphy, Carson, Dawson, Mendenhall and Conner, as members of the medical profession, had reputations that extended far beyond the city and the state.

At that time the population of Cincinnati barely, if at all, exceeded 200,000. There was only one bridge, the Suspension, across the Ohio river; the telephone, passenger elevators, electric motive power for the operation of street railways and other purposes were still unknown.

Stenography, although familiar to the ancients, was not then in use. It was some years later that the typewriter and the stenographer became a necessary part of every busy law office. The first employment I had was as a notary public. I had to write out all the questions and answers in long hand. We were a week taking depositions that would be taken today in any well-regulated and properly equipped law office in a few hours.

I continued in the practice of the law, my practice constantly increasing and growing more and more remunerative, until I was elected to the bench of the Superior Court of Cincinnati for the term commencing May 1, 1879. After serving as Judge of that court, with Manning F. Force and Judson Harmon as colleagues, for a period of three years, I resigned on account of a temporary illness that gave my friends as well as myself serious concern.

I always recall with great satisfaction my judicial experience. I not only enjoyed the work, but my immediate colleagues, Judges Force and Harmon, were able lawyers and agreeable associates. They were helpful and companionable. It was with great regret I reached the conclusion that it was my duty to terminate such relations.

When the newspapers announced that I had tendered my resignation, a large number of the members of the bar joined in an appeal to the Governor not to accept it. The grounds of their protests were in the nature of comments on my work that were of the most flattering character.

The following are a few of the expressions of the press, April 12, 1882:

The *Gazette* said:

Judge Foraker has earned the admiration of the best practitioners at the bar by his promptness and ability.

The *Commercial* said:

One of the ablest and most popular men on the state bench. His retirement is a public loss.

The *Enquirer* said:

Able, fair and universally respected. His loss will be deeply felt and deplored.

The Cincinnati *Post:*

An able, conscientious, upright Judge.

Law Bulletin:

Industrious, painstaking, conscientious . . . working out with care and good discernment all the questions submitted to his judgment.

The *Times-Star:*

Very sincerely and generally regretted.

Volksfreund:

Regretted by Judges, lawyers and the whole people.

After some months of rest and recreation I found myself sufficiently recovered to resume the practice. I was promptly favored with a good class of business and plenty of it. My prospects for success at the bar were of a flattering character, but doomed to early interruption.

SUPERIOR COURT OF CINCINNATI
1879-1882
Left to Right: Judges Harmon, Force, and Foraker.

CHAPTER IX.

DABBLING ALONG THE EDGES.

PRIOR to my judicial service I was so busily occupied with my studies and with what work I was fortunate enough to have entrusted to me that I could not take much part in politics; but it was a time when important questions were being considered and settled. They affected directly the results of the war. They related to reconstruction, emancipation, enfranchisement and a general rehabilitation of the affairs of the nation and the industries of the country. I could not have been without interest had I desired to be, but I had no such desire.

I felt, on the contrary, that it was a period when every one should do his part to see that there should be no frittering away of the results of the struggle for the Union.

This was particularly true in the Presidential campaign of 1868, when General Grant was first elected, because of the hostile declarations of the Democratic platform as to all that had been done for the reconstruction of the States, and in favor of the payment of the bonded obligations of the Government in greenbacks.

The election of Mr. Seymour on such a platform at that time would have been a disaster no language can exaggerate.

I felt especially interested because General Frank P. Blair, who had commanded the Seventeenth Army Corps in the march through Georgia and the Carolinas, was the Democratic candidate for Vice President, and distinguished himself by his radical utterances in support of the platform on which he stood.

It was in this campaign, while yet in school at Delaware, that I made my first political speech. It was followed by more invitations to speak elsewhere in that county than I

was able to accept. The overwhelming election of General Grant gave a feeling of assurance that after all the results of the war would be preserved.

There was no such thing, however, as clear sailing ahead for the Republican Party. On the contrary, although the nomination of General Grant was in response to an overwhelming demand from the people, yet there were many who affected to doubt the wisdom of putting in the White House a soldier who had no claim for recognition except his military achievements, and were ready, therefore, to listen to the Democratic charges freely and everywhere made that his election meant a military despotism.

There were others who had before the war been Democrats, but on account of the Union had been affiliated with the Republican Party since the outbreak of the rebellion. Many of these were not in sympathy with the protective tariff that the Republican Party had inaugurated when it came into power at the beginning of Mr. Lincoln's administration. They had acquiesced and supported the party, notwithstanding their dislike of this policy because the exigencies and demands of the war seemed to make it necessary. They were beginning to feel, however, that they would like to see the party modify its policy in this respect.

There was another class of Republicans, and a very numerous one, who from mere selfish considerations did not like the idea of giving political preferment to military chieftains. The list of distinguished soldiers was a very long one, and if Grant and other soldiers preferred for high political honors should be successful in the administration of civil offices, there was no telling when a mere political leader, who had not been in the army, would again have an opportunity for political preferment.

These several classes taken altogether constituted a very formidable nucleus of opposition within the Republican Party to the administration of General Grant from its very first day. They had a fair representation in the press of the country. The Democrats were, of course, hostile. They predicted only evil and were not slow to charge mistakes

and make criticisms. Almost everything that was done called forth their censure.

The dissatisfied classes among Republicans were at first only quiescent. Later they began to show sympathy with these charges, and then later to join in making them. Each day the papers teemed with talk about nepotism, militarism, absenteeism, despotism and other alleged offenses, for not one of which there was any just foundation.

Liberal Republican Movement.

Of course, there was able defense, but notwithstanding when 1872 came the dissatisfied elements were ready for open revolt. As a result what was called the Liberal Republican Convention was called to meet in Cincinnati, early in the year, for the purpose of adopting a platform and nominating candidates for President and Vice-President.

Among the leaders of this movement were Stanley Matthews, who was made temporary chairman of the Convention, George Hoadly, Judson Harmon, Murat Halstead and many other Cincinnatians theretofore prominent and active Republicans.

The rest of the country was well represented. Among those who came from other States were Reuben E. Fenton and William Dorsheimer of New York, A. K. McClure of Pennsylvania, George W. Julian of Indiana, John Wentworth of Illinois, Carl Schurz, with whom I had a short association on Slocum's staff, and who was made permanent chairman of the Convention; Joseph Pulitzer, then of Missouri, but afterward the distinguished editor of the New York *World;* Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, Edward Atkinson of Massachusetts, David A. Wells of Connecticut, all well known in the politics of the time.

Most of those whom I have mentioned had been affiliated with the Democratic Party before the war, and believed there should be a substantial modification of the tariff laws. They expected to put such a declaration in their platform and to nominate candidates who would be in harmony therewith. Many of them were also dissatisfied with the reconstruction measures that had been adopted by the

Republican Party. Few of them imagined that the party they were seeking to organize would be strong enough of itself to defeat the re-election of General Grant, but practically all of them expected and believed that they would be able to make a platform and nominate candidates of such character that they would be able to make a coalition with the Democratic Party and thus be strong enough to carry the election. The results of the Convention in these respects were most unexpected, and to many of those who were participating most unsatisfactory.

Instead of a declaration in favor of a downward revision of the tariff, the best the differing minds of those assembled could agree upon was a remission of the whole tariff subject to the Congressional districts for such settlement as they might make, which was such a manifest evasion that it was worse and more disappointing and exasperating to those who expected something positive than an out-and-out declaration would have been for either a tariff for revenue only or a tariff for protection.

Remembering the disasters that overtook the Democratic Party in 1868, they declared against financial repudiation and pledged themselves to uphold all the war amendments in the Constitution, and then, looking ahead for Democratic support, especially from the South, declared in favor of the removal of all disabilities on account of the rebellion and assailed with a vigorous tirade of abuse General Grant and his administration.

Those who had joined the movement for the purpose of securing a change in the tariff policy were not only disappointed with the platform, but doubly disappointed when Horace Greeley, the ablest and most distinguished advocate of a protective tariff then living, was nominated as the candidate for President. Many promptly returned to the Republican Party, among them Stanley Matthews, the temporary chairman. Many others returned later, but most of them adhered to the movement, although some of them voted for Grant as a protest against Greeley, until it was swallowed up by the Democratic Party, of which they then became active members.

Among these was Judge, afterward Governor Hoadly. He did not become a citizen of Cincinnati until after he had been admitted to the bar. Until then he had been a Democrat. When he located in Cincinnati he became associated with the law firm of Chase & Ball (Salmon P. Chase). Mr. Chase had been for years actively connected with the anti-slavery movement. When the Republican Party was organized he became from the first one of its active leaders. In 1855 he was elected Governor of Ohio. He was appointed by Mr. Lincoln Secretary of the Treasury. It was perhaps due to his influence that Governor Hoadly, coming to his office as a Democrat, became in time a Republican, although the indefensible pro-slavery, secession, disunion sentiments which the Democratic Party espoused would probably have made him a Republican anyhow. However that might be, his connection with the Liberal Republican movement was but a first step back into the Democratic Party, where he was promptly accorded full membership.

It is familiar history that when the Democratic Convention of 1872 met it adopted the platform and the candidates of the Liberal Republicans, for which Greeley had prepared the way, especially with the Southern leaders, perhaps unconsciously, by signing the bail bond of Jefferson Davis, and advocating in his paper, in his powerful way, universal amnesty for all Confederates. By this platform the Democratic Party turned its back on all its record of opposition to the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, and also turned its back upon the unsavory financial plank of 1868. How well it kept the faith thus professed, or rather did not keep it, need not be here mentioned.

I speak to the extent I do of this Convention, its platform, its candidates, and the movement generally, because it was the first national political Convention of any kind I had ever attended, and because the character of the movement was such, in view of the different classes of Republicans embraced within it, and their one common purpose of dividing, overthrowing and destroying the Republican

Party that I deemed it more than ever the duty of every man interested in the cause of Republicanism and the preservation of the fruits of the war for the Union, to do whatever it might be in his power to do to help bring about the triumphant and successful re-election of General Grant, which followed in November. As a result, I took in an humble way an active part in the canvass of that year.

First Participation in Politics.

When I engaged in the practice of law the most positive and about the only well-considered resolution I had adopted was not to allow anything to interrupt my professional work. I knew the law was a jealous mistress, and proposed to govern myself accordingly. It was, therefore, with much dissatisfaction with myself that in due time I realized that each year I was being drawn more and more into the discussion of political questions.

I excused myself, however, on the ground of public duty, and the thought that as soon as the acute stages of the events of the time had passed I should discard politics altogether.

But the acute stages continued. One thing led to another and it seemed as though no stopping place could be reached. At any rate each election seemed more important than the last, and there was always more or less of campaign work for somebody to do.

A good illustration was the case of my old comrade, General Edward F. Noyes, who lost a leg in the Atlanta campaign and who had been elected Governor in 1871, but defeated by "Rise Up William Allen" in 1873. Noyes was such a gallant soldier, so loyal, so patriotic, and with such a good record not only at the front, on the firing line, but at Columbus, in the executive office, that it seemed to me, without meaning to disparage Governor Allen in the slightest, that it was little short, if at all, of a disgrace to the State that it should deny the crippled hero the vindication of a second term, by giving preference to a man who had done nothing worthy of special note to promote or defend the Union cause, and who was so radically unsound on

financial questions, that he should denounce specie payments in a public speech as "A d—d barren ideality."

It was with this sort of feeling that I attended my first Republican State Convention held at Columbus in 1875. I went there supporting in common with the Hamilton County delegation the candidacy of Alphonso Taft for the nomination for Governor. On account of a dissenting opinion he had given in the "Bible in the schools case," as it was popularly termed, the majority of the Convention could not be brought to his support. The man they wanted was not a candidate, but they would have him notwithstanding. Rutherford B. Hayes had been elected Governor over Allen G. Thurman in 1867, and re-elected over George H. Pendleton in 1869. He was not then considered a great man, but he had a good record, was a good speaker and had been successful. That made him popular, and that was enough.

The Convention made him the standard bearer, thus giving him a chance for a third term, to which he was elected, and also at the same time paving the way for his nomination to the Presidency by the National Convention that met in Cincinnati the following year.

Nomination of Hayes.

It was my fortune to be present at this Convention as a spectator. It was the first National Republican Convention I had ever attended.

It proved to be the most interesting National Convention the Republicans had ever held since the first at which Abraham Lincoln was nominated. It was the first since that convention at which there was a real contest over the nomination of candidates. Lincoln's second term came to him as a matter of course. The two nominations of General Grant were settled beforehand by public sentiment, but in 1876 there were a number of great Republican leaders, any one of whom would have made an acceptable and probably successful candidate, but there was no overwhelming sentiment developed prior to the Convention for any one of them.

James G. Blaine of Maine, Roscoe Conkling of New York, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, John F. Hartranft of

Pennsylvania, Marshall Jewell of Connecticut, Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky and Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, were all mentioned as candidates, and more or less discussed by the newspapers of the country prior to the Convention.

Blaine and Morton had shown more strength than any of the others, and it was thought before the Convention assembled that one or the other would get the nomination, or, both failing, that it would probably go to Bristow, who as the Secretary of the Treasury had struck a popular chord with some people in connection with the prosecution of the whisky frauds.

The certainty of a strenuous contest between such great leaders of the country had much to do, no doubt, with the fact that the Convention was attended in large numbers by the most distinguished Republicans of the country as delegates and spectators.

I was already familiar with the names of the leaders of the party in the various States, but I had never seen any of them, except only those of Ohio.

It was exceedingly interesting, therefore, to see and hear such men as Hale and Frye of Maine, Hoar of Massachusetts, Aldrich of Rhode Island, Thomas C. Platt of New York, Hawley of Connecticut, Henry M. Teller of Colorado, and John P. Jones of Nevada, with all of whom I afterwards served in the Senate; John M. Harlan of Kentucky, afterwards distinguished for his long and able service as an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Robert G. Ingersoll, who carried off the oratorical honors of the occasion by his speech nominating Mr. Blaine; Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, who placed the name of Oliver P. Morton before the Convention, and when it became evident that he could not be nominated, withdrew it from further consideration; George William Curtis, the distinguished editor and accomplished orator; Garrett A. Hobart, afterwards Vice President; Charles Emory Smith, Postmaster General under McKinley; Governor William A. Howard of Michigan; Nathan Goff, long a distinguished Judge, now Senator from West Virginia, and others of like prominence from the different States.

Later I became personally acquainted with nearly all these men, and have of each of them the most agreeable recollection.

The excitement of the Convention commenced before the body assembled at the Convention Hall.

Great crowds witnessed the arrival of the New York delegation. They were a splendid, fine looking body of men. They carried a beautiful banner with an oil portrait of their candidate—Senator Conkling—but they did not make any better appearance than the Pennsylvania delegation, who also carried a banner with the portrait of their candidate, Governor Hartranft. The Maine delegation was not very large, but Blaine delegates, Blaine men and Blaine banners were to be seen on every hand. Indiana Republicans were present in great numbers, advocating the cause of their candidate in the corridors of the hotels and wherever crowds were gathered. The Bristow men were not so demonstrative, but they were both seen and felt. Hayes never did excite much enthusiasm, but he also had staunch friends who modestly, sincerely and faithfully upheld and advanced his cause. Bands, banners and flags of all kinds were everywhere.

While these demonstrations were taking place conferences were being held and plans were being laid in behalf of the different candidates by the respective leaders of the delegations. All kinds of rumors and reports were in circulation as to the results, the conclusions reached and the combinations made.

It was practically a new experience for us. Except the Liberal Convention of 1872 Cincinnati had not had the honor of entertaining a National Convention of either party since 1856, when the Democrats nominated James Buchanan, in Smith and Nixon's Hall on Fourth street. The situation was unusual and there was much excitement throughout the city; business was practically suspended; little else was thought of or talked about, except only the prominent delegates and the possible nominations. There was no trouble anticipated for the Committee on Resolutions. There was

at that time common agreement as to Republican principles and in a general way as to what should be embodied in the platform.

I have already mentioned John P. Jones as a delegate from Nevada and afterwards one of my colleagues in the Senate. As I dictate these notes a rather pleasing incident in connection with him comes back to mind. Some weeks before the date fixed for the Convention a widow who was a client of an attorney in our office called to inform him that a real estate agent had called upon her, saying he represented Senator John P. Jones, who was to be a delegate to the Convention from Nevada; that he wanted to rent for use by him and his delegation during the Convention some suitable house, where they could have better accommodations than they had been able to secure in our limited and over-crowded hotels, and that he thought hers would answer, and that he would rent it if he could agree with her upon terms; that the Senator wanted the house unfurnished; that he would put his own furniture in it; take good care of it, do as little damage as possible, and pay her any reasonable rent she might name. A very handsome rental was asked. I do not remember now the amount, except that it was two or three thousand dollars—maybe more. It was agreed to so promptly that it was thought she might have had much more if she had asked for it. Everything belonging to the owner was removed from the house and it was furnished throughout by the Senator with beds, tables, chairs, cooking utensils and everything else needed to make the delegation and their friends comfortable.

The rental was paid in advance, and when the Convention was over Senator Jones made the good woman very happy by making her a present of all the furniture and everything else he had put in her home. That was the first time my attention was directed to Senator Jones. The incident proved a happy prelude to a most agreeable association with him when afterwards we were colleagues in the Senate.

Finally the day of the Convention arrived. Its proceedings are familiar to all. The intellectual feature was the

famous speech of Robert G. Ingersoll nominating Mr. Blaine. From the first sentence until the last he had the rapt attention of the Convention and all the great audience that filled the galleries. I have many times seen popular orators arouse great enthusiasm, but I have never seen, before or since, anything equal to the effect of his eloquent and telling sentences. Some one preceding him had said to make sure of the election we must nominate a man acceptable to Massachusetts. This nettled Ingersoll. He rebuked it in his first sentences, saying if any man who had been mentioned at that Convention as a possible candidate, should be nominated, and could not carry that State by seventy-five thousand majority Massachusetts should tear down Bunker Hill monument and sell Faneuil Hall for Democratic headquarters. Referring to the charges that had been made against Mr. Blaine's integrity on account of the Mulligan letters, he said while the candidate should have all proper virtues, it was not necessary that he should have a certificate of moral character from a Confederate Congress. His speech throughout fairly bristled with sharp, jagged points, and smashing, bludgeon-like blows that thrilled his audience, aroused their enthusiasm, and brought forth round after round of applause, but the climax was reached when he likened Blaine to a plumed knight with shining lance, smiting traitors in Congress full in the face.

When he finally concluded it seemed as though Mr. Blaine was already nominated. Other nomination speeches were listened to impatiently, no matter how good they may have been in and of themselves, since all seemed tame by comparison and a useless formality and waste of time anyhow. Hayes was nominated by Governor Noyes, in a splendid speech, but it suffered on this account.

I remember distinctly only one other speech and I remember that because of the painful impression it made. It was the speech of Richard W. Thompson withdrawing the name of Oliver P. Morton from further consideration by the Convention.

It was a beautiful speech, but a sad one in a way, for all who heard it recognized that it marked the end of a great career of a great man who had a warm place in the

grateful recollections of loyal Republicans everywhere. It was like the folding of a battle flag preparatory to putting it away out of sight forever.

Mr. Blaine received on the first ballot 285 votes, Mr. Hayes only 61. On the seventh ballot Mr. Blaine received 351 votes, and Mr. Hayes received 384 votes, and was then on motion made the unanimous choice of the Convention.

Later the Democratic convention nominated Samuel J. Tilden as his opponent on a platform that over and over again rang the changes for reform and in one of the severest political arraignments ever made indicted the Republican party as guilty of almost every sort of offense known to the calendar of crimes.

Campaign of 1876.

The campaign on the part of the Democrats gave emphasis to the reform idea and exploited Mr. Tilden as the great reform Governor of New York, and the best fitted man in the country to bring about reforms in the government of the United States. No reforms were needed but a fact like that never interfered with a reform campaign. It went on all the more vigorously on that account. Every sort of virtue was claimed for him and every sort of political vice was charged against the Republicans.

The campaign on the part of the Republicans was a regular Hayes campaign—hard work, steady pulling, constant progress, but nothing brilliant, no great enthusiasm, but victory in the end by a small and doubtful margin.

Both sides claimed the electoral votes of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. In addition the Republicans claimed all the votes of Oregon, while the Democrats claimed one of them on the technicality that one of the Republican electors, J. W. Watts, was holding a post-office at the time of his election, and for that reason was disqualified to act, although he had a majority over E. A. Cronin, the next highest Democratic candidate for elector, of more than a thousand votes.

Allowing the Republicans all the votes claimed they had a majority of only one in the electoral college—one hundred and eighty-five for Hayes, and one hundred and eighty-four

for Tilden. This narrow margin was of itself very Hayes-like. He had defeated Thurman in 1867 by only 2,983 votes, and Pendleton in 1869 by only 7,500 votes, and had carried Ohio for the Presidency by but 7,516 votes, and had a majority of the votes in a number of other States by exceedingly slight margins.

Thus suddenly the American people were confronted with the perils of a disputed Presidency. Intense excitement took possession of everybody. The loud claims in behalf of Mr. Tilden's personal virtues had been carefully examined during the campaign, with the result that almost universally the Republican leaders of the country became distrustful, and seriously apprehensive that should circumstances arise apparently calling for the same he would not hesitate to act unscrupulously in his own or his party's behalf.

During the campaign there had been a resort to violence in many of the Southern States, particularly in South Carolina, with a view to terrorizing, controlling, preventing, or suppressing the colored vote, which was unanimously Republican, and constituted a majority of the voters in the State. It was charged that the Democrats in other States, particularly in those in dispute, had committed great frauds upon the ballot with the same object in view.

These charges were met by counter charges of like character. Crimination and recrimination, excitement and bitterness, were the order of the day. As a result both parties sent representatives to the disputed States ostensibly to investigate the facts, and secure, if possible, an honest count and honest returns.

In the meanwhile all kinds of incendiary speeches were made, and articles published and propositions advanced, even to the suggestion of open violence.

The Electoral Commission.

Congress finally passed a special act for the settlement of the dispute by providing for an Electoral Commission consisting of fifteen members to be composed of five Senators, five Members of the House, and five Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

The Justices assigned to four specifically named Circuits were to serve and select a fifth Justice of the Supreme Court. It was arranged by tacit understanding and agreement that of the Senators two should be Democrats and three Republicans, and that of the five Members of the House three should be Democrats and two Republicans.

The Justices of the four Circuits designated were Clifford and Field, Democrats, and Miller and Strong, Republicans.

Thus it will be seen that the political complexion of the Commission would be determined by the fifteenth man who was to be the fifth Justice.

Before this Commission all questions in dispute were to be presented, argued and then finally settled by a majority vote of the Commission, subject only to rejection by a concurrent vote of both Houses.

The work of devising and framing the bill was shared alike by both parties, but the Democratic support of it was much stronger than that given by the Republicans, who reached the point in the consideration of the measure where they seemed to "fear the Greeks even gifts bearing."

They recognized that it offered a solution of the trouble, and that they could not afford to oppose it without offering a substitute that would be more acceptable; and that, they were unable to do. The trouble was a disquieting feeling, gradually becoming more and more pronounced, that the measure was a part of a scheme of the "Reformer of Gramercy Park," and that sooner or later they would find themselves caught in a trap he was setting, but which they would not be able to locate until too late. The bill was supported in the Senate by Thurman, Bayard, and the ablest Democrats in that body, and Henry B. Payne, Abram S. Hewitt, and the leading Democrats of the House. It was opposed in the Senate by such Republicans as John Sherman, James G. Blaine and Oliver P. Morton, while in the House the opposition was led by James A. Garfield, William P. Frye, and men of that character.

When finally passed the vote stood in the House for the Commission, 160 Democrats and 31 Republicans;

against, 17 Democrats, and 69 Republicans; in the Senate the vote stood for the Commission 26 Democrats and 21 Republicans; against the Commission, 1 Democrat and 16 Republicans.

It was afterward claimed in explanation of this strong opposition among Republicans, and, perhaps, with good ground therefor, that the Democrats had in some way been assured that the fifth Justice who was to be the fifteenth member of the Commission, would be Justice David Davis, who had been in early life a Republican, and who was at the time regarded as a Democrat. Whatever the fact may be, his selection was made impossible by an election, unexpected by him, and everybody else, as a Democrat to the office of United States Senator from the State of Illinois on the day preceding that which had been fixed as the date for putting the bill on its passage in the House, where the Democrats were in the majority, and most of them were so committed to the support of the measure that it was impossible for them to find in that fact an excuse for withholding that support; especially in view of the fact that in the nature of things, no such excuse could be offered without scandalizing the whole proceeding.

This election to the Senate made Davis ineligible under the terms of the Statute creating the Commission, and made it necessary to choose some other Justice of the Supreme Court in his stead. This led to the selection of Associate Justice Joseph P. Bradley, who had been appointed from the State of New Jersey and who was a Republican.

In this way it came about that eight members of the Commission were Republicans, and only seven were Democrats. There was a great array of counsel on each side. Judge Hoadly was one of them on the Democratic side. The different questions were parceled out among them. To Judge Hoadly was assigned the Oregon case. I chanced to meet him in the Cincinnati Law Library, where he had been examining some authorities he wanted to use in his argument, just as he was leaving preparatory to taking the train for Washington, and had a brief conversation with him, in the course of which he expressed great satis-

faction with his assignment, stating in that connection that he had entire confidence that the question he was to present was free from doubt, and that he would be able to secure for Mr. Tilden the one vote necessary to make him President.

He further stated in this conversation that he was entirely satisfied with the selection of Justice Bradley as the fifteenth member of the Commission, remarking that he regarded him as especially able on questions of statutory construction. The cases were all fully presented, both as to the facts and the law. Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana were all one after another decided in favor of the Hayes electors by a divided, partisan vote of eight to seven; but when the Commission came to decide the Oregon dispute, which had been elaborately presented by Judge Hoadly, the vote was unanimously against his main contention, the only vote of the kind given by the Commission on any disputed point of the entire controversy. Hayes was duly inaugurated.

But Democratic dissatisfaction seemed to be only increased. They were even more responsible for the Commission than the Republicans, but there were no words of bitterness too strong and ugly for them to use in denunciation of what had been done.

Finally not knowing what else to do, and thinking they must do something, they passed a joint resolution authorizing an investigation by a joint committee of the two Houses of the whole subject. This, also most unexpectedly and disastrously for them, came to naught.

The Cipher Telegrams.

In some way several hundred cipher telegrams came into the possession of the New York *Tribune* that had passed between the different Democratic representatives who had gone South and to Oregon to look after the count in the several disputed States, and William T. Pelton, nephew of Samuel J. Tilden, who was the private, unofficial, inner sanctum manager of his campaign, and of the work and investigation being carried on by these special partisan representatives.

Some one discovered the key to the telegrams and translated them. The paper published them. Consternation followed.

While leaders of the Republican Party were not particularly surprised in view of the estimate they had come to have of the methods employed in the campaign for Mr. Tilden, by what had been thus disclosed everybody else was shocked, and all were made to feel that they had been duped and outraged by the pretensions, purposes, and methods that had been made and employed in behalf of the alleged Reformer, for the telegrams disclosed that from the moment his representatives arrived at their respective assignments they had commenced, not an honest investigation, but a deliberately planned campaign of bribery and corruption, in the prosecution of which they had attempted by the use of large sums of money to secure additional electoral votes. They had in cipher telegraphed freely and fully to "Nephew Pelton," naming the amounts to be paid, and the necessity for such payments in order to "secure results." These amounts ranged all the way from five thousand dollars to two hundred thousand dollars. But whatever encouragement the would-be corruptors may have had to think they could thus secure votes to which they were not entitled they utterly failed. Finally when convinced of failure, and the utter hopelessness of their scheme in that respect, one of them sent a telegram announcing failure and advising Tilden to "saddle Blackstone," an expression that at once became familiar all over the country, and which was no doubt the suggestion in which the Electoral Commission had its inception. These disclosures put an end to the dispute about the Presidency.

Hayes had been honestly nominated; his campaign had been honestly conducted; he had honestly received the necessary one hundred and eighty-five votes; and these votes had been given to him not only by the returns, but in so far as they were disputed they had been confirmed to him by the Electoral Commission. His title was clear, and his skirts were clean.

On the other hand the high moral pretensions of his opponent had been singularly, but most completely refuted and destroyed, and the sympathy that had been aroused in his behalf by false assumptions of virtues he did not possess and by charges that were unfounded, had been turned by these exposures of attempted fraud, bribery, and corruption, to indignation and condemnation of the severest character.

I have mentioned these salient points of this historic incident because it had much to do with my continued interest in politics and because repeated references were made to these events by Governor Hoadly and myself when opposed to each other as candidates for Governor in 1883.

CHAPTER X.

A PLUNGE INTO POLITICS.

THE year following my resignation as Judge I was nominated by the Republicans of Ohio for the office of Governor. This caused a digression into the field of politics that was agreeable but not anticipated, or in any way planned or sought; I might also say, not even desired. At least not at that particular time.

My availability was in large measure due to the favorable mention I had received in connection with my resignation of the judicial office, and to the fact that the regulation of the liquor traffic, until shortly before that time practically free from any kind of special tax, and free also from satisfactory restraints and regulations, had become an acute and paramount question in Ohio politics, and the City of Cincinnati, with its large German population, naturally Republican, had become a hot-bed of opposition to the Republican Party. It had declared for taxing the traffic and more efficiently regulating it, and under the leadership of Charles Foster, then Governor of Ohio, had enacted in that behalf what was known as the Scott law. It had intensified the dissatisfaction aroused by this legislation by also submitting a proposal to amend the Constitution so as to prohibit the traffic altogether.

In view of these conditions the party naturally looked to Cincinnati for a candidate, and that directed attention to me. I was pleased to be thought of for such an office, and as worthy to lead under such circumstances, but considering my age, and the need I had to better my financial condition while I was in an easy way to do so, and to thoroughly recover my health, I doubted the wisdom of responding to such a call, especially when the

outcome of the campaign was necessarily in serious doubt. But the call was there, and day by day was becoming stronger and more pronounced. It offered an inviting opportunity for honorable distinction and useful service to both my party and my State. I could embrace it or let it pass—perhaps never to return. I finally concluded with much misgiving to let matters take their course, and accept the nomination if it should be tendered, as it was on the sixth day of June, 1883, by one of the largest and most enthusiastic delegate conventions ever assembled in the State.

Senator Sherman was Chairman of the Convention. William McKinley was one of the delegates. The most prominent and distinguished Republicans of the State, including Governor Foster, General J. Warren Keifer, General Charles H. Grosvenor, Hon. Isaac F. Mack of Sandusky, Hon. J. Kent Hamilton of Toledo, Hon. William D. Bickham of Dayton, editor of the Dayton *Journal*, and many others too numerous to mention were among the delegates.

The sentiment for my nomination seemed to be general and without opposition until a week or ten days before the Convention assembled, when one after another, a number of others were mentioned as suitable candidates. The most formidable of these possible opponents was Senator Sherman himself. He was at that time justly and deservedly very popular with his party, especially with the German Republicans, because of his well-known liberal views with respect to sumptuary laws. He was, however, unqualifiedly in favor of the Republican proposition to compel the saloons to bear a just portion of the burdens of government, and submit to proper regulation.

As soon as he learned that his name was being used as a possible candidate he made a public announcement that he was not a candidate, did not desire the nomination, and that he would not accept it unless it should be tendered in such a way and under such circumstances as might make it his duty to do so, and he hoped his friends would not allow any such situation to come about.

He was a member of the Senate, and was pleased with that service and felt that it was his duty to remain there as Ohio's representative in that body.

Major Benjamin Butterworth, a most brilliant man, a captivating orator and experienced campaigner, then a member of Congress, had many friends who favored his nomination. Judge William Lawrence of Bellefontaine, popular with the agricultural classes, was mentioned, and there were many disposed to give him their support. Still other candidates were mentioned and discussed. For a time, particularly during the period of two or three days immediately preceding the assembling of the Convention, it seemed as though there might be a spirited contest over the nomination and that there was no certainty as to who would be made the candidate.

This possible contest had its origin in opposition to my nomination. There were many who thought I was too young—I was then not yet thirty-seven years old—that I had not had enough political experience—except making some speeches, I had not in fact had any. It was natural that those who did not know me personally should distrust the wisdom of putting at the head of the party in such a contest as that which was clearly impending one who had not been thoroughly tried and tested.

There were others who thought on account of my then recent illness I might suffer a physical breakdown before the campaign was over and thus embarrass the party.

I did not find any fault then, and have never since found any fault with anyone who advanced any of these objections, for I recognized then and recognize now that under all the circumstances they were just subjects of consideration with respect to which thoughtful, prudent men might well have different opinions. In fact I, myself, entertained the same apprehensions they expressed. I realized that the responsibilities of leadership in such a contest were serious. The acute questions were relatively new. It was one thing to discuss reconstruction, finances, and the tariff, and quite another to deal with questions that in-

volved the habits and tastes of men. All that bitterness of feeling had already been excited which is always aroused by sumptuary legislation. From considerations of this character I continued to the last determined not to either run away from or after the nomination. For this reason I did not contemplate attending the convention, and would not have been present had it not been that on the day preceding friends in Columbus wired me that I would undoubtedly be chosen, and that I owed it to the party as well as myself to be present, to meet the representatives of the party from the different counties of the State, become acquainted with them, and address them; that accepting the nomination I owed it to the party, to take advantage in a proper way of every opportunity that might be offered to present and strengthen our cause.

I thought these were good reasons, and, therefore, changed my mind and attended the Convention, arriving in Columbus about noon of June 5th. I took rooms at the Neil House, and quote from the daily press as to what followed:

> For several hours he held an impromptu reception. He was tired with his railroad journey, hot and cramped from his long confinement in the overheated cars, but, notwithstanding, he had a smile and pleasant word for all comers, and there was scarcely a delegate or political visitor who did not embrace the opportunity to have a chat with him. . . . On everybody he made a most favorable impression, and the Foraker boom has been steadily swelling ever since his arrival in Columbus. He himself is confident and does not hesitate to say so.

Until my arrival at Columbus that afternoon I had never met either Senator Sherman or Major McKinley. I was most cordially received by both and during the afternoon I was invited by Senator Sherman to drive with him about Columbus that we might get some relief from the throngs that crowded my rooms and have an opportunity to talk the situation over. An hour was most agreeably spent in this way. Senator Sherman took advantage of this opportunity to tell me he was not a candidate, and that he would not allow his name to be used unless some unforeseen situation

should arise that might compel him to change his mind; that he favored my nomination and hoped I would be selected without any opposition on the following day.

When the Convention assembled and Senator Sherman assumed the chair, in one of his characteristic speeches he lauded the achievements of the Republican Party, dwelling particularly on the beneficent results of a protective tariff. He then spoke as follows on the temperance question:

As to the temperance question, we all acknowledge the great and manifest evils that flow from the use and abuse of spirituous liquors, and at the same time the difficulty in dealing with the subject without interfering with the essential and necessary liberty of each citizen to determine for himself what he will eat, drink and wear. Many modes have been proposed to check the evils of intemperance and many worthy citizens believe the only way is by absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale of spirits. Others equally sincere believe that prohibition is impracticable; that it could not be enforced, especially in cities, and therefore want to leave the entire control of the subject to the General Assembly, so that legislation might be adapted to meet the needs of different localities and changing public opinion. These two propositions are submitted to the people. Every man should for himself, without regard to party, study these propositions and vote according to his convictions of what is right. (Applause.) In the meantime this traffic goes on in open day and by night, filling our poorhouses, jails and penitentiary, increasing the expenses of our courts and police. Now the question is this: Ought not this traffic to be taxed to pay a portion of these expenses? This is the principle of the Scott bill. It is right. Our State Constitution prohibits a license, but this is not a license; it is a tax. At all events, license, or no license, we are in favor of a tax (applause); and, if necessary, we will change the Constitution to enable the General Assembly to devise and enforce a just system of taxation on this traffic. ("Hear, hear!") And why not? It is done in nearly every State, country and city in Christendom, and perhaps in Pagandom. We have for thirty years in Ohio neglected this stream of revenue; this most unobjectionable form of restraining the traffic. We have followed the example of the Pharisee who would not relieve the poor unfortunate because he feared to be contaminated. We would not tax the liquor seller because, we are told, that makes us a partner in the crime. This is good logic for his pocket. We are or ought to be practical men, and I risk my reputation as a prophet by saying that even after one year's enforcement of the Scott law our Democratic friends will acquiesce and not propose to repeal it.

Let us, then, my fellow Republicans, go on; let us perform our duties according to what we think is right, and, appealing to the judgment of our fellow citizens, let us raise the Republican standard with courage and hope as of old and assured success will light up its folds. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Major McKinley was Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. He reported a platform strongly supporting the policy of a protective tariff, declaring in favor of the restoration of the wool tariff of 1867, which had been reduced in 1882 on the recommendation of a tariff commission, favored the taxation and regulation of the liquor traffic, and approved the action of the General Assembly in submitting two amendments to the Constitution with respect thereto, one providing for its prohibition, and the other providing for remitting the whole subject to the Legislature.

Two weeks later the Democrats held their Convention, nominated Judge George Hoadly as their candidate, and adopted a platform in which they declared in favor of a tariff for revenue only; made fulsome declarations about personal liberty, denounced prohibition, and favored the regulation of the liquor traffic by a license system, and specifically resolved in favor of the restoration of the wool tariff of 1867.

It will be noted upon an examination of the same that in addition to the usual questions these platforms made a clean cut issue as to the liquor traffic, and that both parties declared in favor of a restoration of the wool tariff of 1867.

I call attention to this latter fact because it led to much discussion during the campaign of the wool tariff, and marks the only instance probably when our Democratic friends have professed to be in accord with us as to the propriety of protecting the wool industry. Governor Hoadly during the campaign repeatedly declared that he favored a protective tariff on wool, although he was opposed to a tariff except for revenue on every other importation.

Recurring now to our Convention, nominations for Governor being called for, I was placed in nomination by the Honorable Benjamin Eggleston, Chairman of the Hamilton County delegation.

The nomination so made was then seconded by my old school friend and classmate, Hon. D. Kemper Watson, in the following eloquent sentences:

Gentlemen of the Convention:—More than twenty years ago, when Republicanism was the only power that was guiding this nation, in the darkness of the Civil War, a boy, sixteen years of age, entered the army as a private soldier. He sought neither fame nor glory; his only love was love for his country. His highest and holiest ambition was to fight in the ranks and for the flag. A year later, for special bravery upon the battlefield, he was made a Captain—the youngest Captain in all that mighty host that battled for the stars. He was with that magnificent army, the grandest that ever stepped to martial music; whose achievements thrilled the nation with joy and the world with wonder as it marched to the sea and restored the flag to eternal supremacy in the land of its banishment. (Applause.) I commend him to this convention today as a citizen of spotless purity of character, as a soldier of daring and dauntless bravery, as a man with great capacity for work, possessing great reserve power, capable of wonderful future development. In the prime and strength of his life he has a record that is grand enough to win the admiration of the old and arouse the young to earnest and enthusiastic devotion. (Applause.) This convention must not forget that many who are today putting on the armor of political warfare were too young to follow the camp, but nevertheless they learned their Republicanism from the roll of the drum and the sight of the old flag on its way to battle. In the name of such men everywhere in Ohio, I second the nomination of J. B. Foraker for Governor of Ohio. (Loud applause.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Watson's speech the Honorable J. M. Dalzell, a delegate from Noble County, better known as "Private" Dalzell, an ardent admirer and enthusiastic supporter of Senator Sherman, undertook to place the Senator's name in nomination; but the Senator in some well chosen remarks declined to allow his name to be so used.

The descriptive account of the proceedings of the Convention published in the Cincinnati *Commercial* of the following day, from which I am quoting, proceeds as follows:

No sooner had Senator Sherman concluded than shouts of "Foraker! Foraker!" were heard. At first there were but one or two, and then the cry being taken up, a great cry for Foraker rang through the hall. Mr. John C. Covert, managing editor of the Cleveland *Leader,* rose, but for some moments he could not be heard, for everything was drowned by the reiterated shout for Foraker. Several times he essayed to speak, but each time he was obliged to desist, until the delegates realized that he had something to say concerning the matter, and curbed their enthusiasm long enough to listen. Mr. Covert moved that Judge Foraker be nominated by acclamation, and stated that he made the motion on behalf of the entire Cuyahoga delegation. (Ringing cheers.)

The motion was put, and a swelling chorus of "yeas" followed, and when Senator Sherman called for the "nays," but three voices could be distinguished. Then followed a scene of wild enthusiasm. Delegates rose in their places, and, jumping on their chairs, waved their hats and handkerchiefs frantically. The spirit of the movement animated all. Shout after shout, hurrah after hurrah went up, and the noise was beyond description. Even the sedate assembly of gentlemen on the stage forgot their dignity and reserve and joined in the tumultuous applause. The great sound was heard in the street, and thus the fact of Foraker's nomination was first known to the outside world. Senator Sherman waited quietly for the expression of approval to cease, and there is no telling how long it might have continued had not the band, which was in the gallery, suddenly struck up a martial and triumphant air.

Ex-Speaker Hodge, of Cleveland, moved that a committee of three be appointed to wait upon Captain Foraker and ask his appearance before the Convention.

The motion was unanimously carried and Senator Sherman appointed Messrs. Hodge, Eggleston and McKinley.

. . . . . .

In due time a stir arose in the back part of the Opera House, and soon cries of "Foraker! Foraker!" heralded the approach of the gallant young leader of the State ticket of this campaign. He was tendered an ovation.

Senator Sherman introduced Judge Foraker as the next Governor of Ohio.

There had been much questioning on the part of the delegates as to Judge Foraker's ability as a public speaker. He more than satisfied even his most enthusiastic friends. The correspondent writing this has had many years of experience in reporting public speakers in legislative bodies and in conventions. On reference to his stenographic notes of Judge Foraker's speech, he finds it exceptionally free from grammatical or constructional errors. Very few of even the veterans can bear absolutely close reporting. Judge Foraker is one of the few exceptions. There was no pretense at eloquence, but the speech was a ringing one, in well-chosen, crisp language, reaching the aim every time. The circumstances of Judge Foraker's nomination were such as would naturally cause embarrassment to an old hand at the business, but he said what he had to say without any halting or hesitation, and with grace and finish.

He said (I quote in full because my first speech in State politics):

"Gentlemen of the Convention: Ohio is a great State. She is great in area, great in business, great in wealth, great in population, and particularly and especially great in the politics of this country. (Applause.)

"To be nominated by such a party as that which is now here represented, for the high office of Governor of such a State, is an honor, indeed, for which any man might well feel proud. (Applause.)

"It is a compliment to which I would not appear insensible if I could.

"I am here, therefore, not only to accept the nomination you have so cordially tendered me, but also to return you my most sincere and heartfelt thanks therefor.

"It would seem that this is a fitting time and place for me to say to you, also, that I am not only mindful of the honor that is conferred, but that I have likewise, I trust, a proper appreciation for the fact that its acceptance necessitates the assumption by me of some important responsibilities, and I pledge you that from this moment forward no legitimate effort of which I am capable will be spared to the end that they may be fully, faithfully and successfully discharged. So that when the election day comes, it may be to bring as its result for this day's work of the convention a triumphant ratification by the people. (Applause.) Not so, however, because of anything that may be involved personal to myself, but simply and solely because of that which is of common concern to all.

"The campaign upon which we are this day entering is to be of unusual importance. It is the initial fight of 1884. All the national political questions must, therefore, be involved in the issue. And for that reason alone—if for no other—we not only should, but will succeed (applause), for the position of our party in regard to all these questions has been not only defined, but triumphantly endorsed and approved by twenty-five years of experience. (Applause.)

"These twenty-five years of Republican rule have been twenty-five years of triumph—triumph in war, triumph in peace, triumph at home and triumph abroad—until the whole globe has come to be circled with a living current of respect and esteem for the American flag and the American name that is absolutely without a parallel in the case of any other nation on the face of the earth. (Applause.)

"Turning to purely State questions, there is nothing to change any man's way of voting from what it otherwise would be. Whether the Pond law was right or wrong is of no consequence now. The question this year is upon the Scott law, not according to its technical letter or form, but as to the principles of regulation and taxation, for which it declares. (Applause.)

"This is not the time or the place for me to enter upon a discussion of the merits of this measure. Nor would it be proper for me to take the time necessary to even enumerate the manifold benefits that must result from an enforcement of its provisions. It is, however, a fitting time and place for the general statement that familiarity and experience with the law will demonstrate that, considering the rights and the interests involved, and the objects aimed at, it is, at the same time the wisest and the most just and equitable solution of the temperance question that has ever been suggested.

"It has continually grown in favor from the day of its enactment, and, if permitted to stand, it will continue to grow in favor until the day of the election, when it will be found broad enough and strong enough to hold the whole Republican Party, as we sweep in triumph the whole State of Ohio, from the river to the lakes." (Applause.)

The complete ticket as made by the Convention was as follows:

Governor,

J. B. FORAKER, of Cincinnati.

Lieutenant Governor,

WILLIAM G. ROSE, of Cleveland.

Supreme Judges,

WM. HANFORD UPSON, of Akron

(Term ending February 9, 1887).

JOHN H. DOYLE, of Toledo

(Unexpired term and long term).

Clerk of Supreme Court,

DWIGHT CROWELL, of Ashtabula County.

Attorney General,

M. B. EARNHART, of Miami County.

Auditor of State,

JOHN F. OGLEVEE, of Clarke County.

State Treasurer,

J. C. BROWN, of Steubenville.

Commissioner of Common Schools,

D. F. DeWOLFE, of Toledo.

Member of Board of Public Works,

LEO WELTZ, of Clinton County.

CHAPTER XI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1883—DEFEATED BUT NOT DAMAGED.

WHEN I saw I was likely to be nominated I consulted my physician to get his opinion as to whether there was any danger that the work of the campaign would break me down. He told me he thought not if I limited myself to one speech a week, which he would advise not only on account of my health, but, also, as he expressed it, because we were having too many speeches, anyhow.

Both grounds were well taken, and I intended to observe his restriction, but soon found it impossible to do so.

I was a new man, discussing relatively new subjects as well as old, and everybody wanted to see me and hear what I had to say. Moreover, from the day of his nomination, Governor Hoadly talked incessantly, if not in public speech, in newspaper interviews. He was an able and resourceful man who said something new every day that called for an answer. I was soon subjected to a perfect flood of invitations, which I was glad to accept in so far as I could, so that I might have opportunity to answer my opponent and at the same time say something, if I could, that he might deem it necessary for him to answer.

The result was that, instead of speaking only once a week, I was soon speaking every day, and long before the end of the campaign I was speaking regularly at least twice a day—not infrequently three and four times a day.

In this way I covered the whole State, speaking at least once in every county. Campaigning was different then from what it is today. Then we traveled on the trains and aimed to have at least one good meeting at some county-seat town, usually in the afternoon, and then a night meeting in some city or important place. Meetings of less importance were sandwiched in between regular dates as circum-

stances might allow. In this way we had, as a rule, two good meetings each day, both largely attended. The day meeting was for the farmers and other people from all over the county who might be able to "take a day off" for such a purpose, and the night meetings were intended to accommodate business men and laboring classes who could not very well attend in daytime.

At these meetings the speakers were expected to discuss all the questions involved in the campaign, speaking as long as it might be necessary to do so, whether that should be an hour, hour and a half or two hours. In this way the discussions were full and satisfactory to both speakers and hearers. The effects of such a discussion were not only more pronounced when the audience was large enough to impart confidence and magnetism to one another, thereby arousing enthusiasm among themselves, but these good effects, when the audience dispersed, were carried to the absentees over the county, in every direction.

With the introduction of the automobile into campaign work, the habit has come to be general among speakers and candidates of seeing the voters as nearly as possible at their homes. Consequently now every small town or cross roads center is a meeting place for the voters of their respective communities. The candidates and the speakers are generally able to canvass a whole county in this way in a day, thus having ten to twenty small meetings instead of one or two large ones. This new method has both advantages and disadvantages as compared with the old.

As a result, a campaign has come to be more a question of physical endurance without lessening the intellectual strain. More people are directly reached and addressed, but the audiences are not so large nor the speeches so extended; and, although in these respects there is less tax of strength, yet the continued, uninterrupted tension from early morning until late at night is of itself serious.

Speaking at so many places and in only a fugitive and fragmentary way adds to, rather than detracts from, the real labor of such work, since at each place, knowing his time is limited, the speaker must not only think of some-

thing to say, but he must, also, determine to what little, of much that he might like to say, he shall give the preference. On this account he has an extra strain that is more wearing than one without experience would probably imagine.

For this feature of his work there is no adequate compensation.

Every man who has had much experience in addressing popular audiences knows that numbers and enthusiasm give a speaker stimulus and inspiration, and that in return he is better able to give his hearers the best effort of which he is capable. As a result, his audiences, if in sympathy with what he says, are more receptive and more likely to become enthusiastic and demonstrative. This action and reaction of speaker and audience upon each other have much to do with the success of public addresses; especially those of a political campaign. If, therefore, instead of having three or four thousand people in one mass meeting, with time and opportunity for a logical, thorough-going speech, a speaker have fifteen or twenty audiences each day, composed of from only fifty to two or three hundred persons each, and they assembled at out-of-the-way places, to be there hurriedly and briefly addressed, the result may be entirely satisfactory if there be a wave of sentiment sweeping through the minds of the people in sympathy with what the speaker says, as was the case in the campaign of the Republicans just closed (1914); but, if on the other hand, the sentiment in the minds of the people be hostile to the speaker, he is likely to have a frosty time of it, not only at his October eight o'clock in the morning meetings, but throughout the whole of the day.

The time of which I write, however, was the olden time. The campaign of 1883 in Ohio was a campaign in which as a rule we had only regularly advertised meetings for which committees made careful preparation. Moreover, it was a campaign in which the Republicans were on the aggressive defensive. We had given Garfield in 1880 a plurality of 34,000; this had been changed to a Democratic plurality of 20,000 in 1882, with the disaffection greatly

aggravated by the submission of a prohibition amendment. Our defeat in 1882 was due to the loss of only a part of the German vote. The fear was that we would lose the whole of it in 1883. While, therefore, the great majority of the Republicans were spunky and full of fight, yet every audience had a percentage of disaffected voters, of whom the best that could be said was that they were willing to be convinced.

With such a situation confronting us, few had hope of success when the campaign opened, and nobody was surprised when Hoadly was elected by a plurality of 12,529. On the contrary, most people thought we had, under the circumstances, done remarkably well to reduce to such a substantial extent the plurality against us of the year before—and we had. I could not have secured such a vote if I had not had the generous help of a brilliant galaxy of able and eloquent Republicans.

No State ever had an abler or more distinguished corps of Republican advocates and defenders than Ohio could boast at that time.

Sherman, although not an eloquent man, was yet a campaign speaker of unusual ability. He had been thirty years in public life. His civil services had been as distinguished as were the military services of his brother, the General. As Secretary of the Treasury, he had won for himself a rank that placed him in the class with Hamilton and Gallatin. In the Senate of the United States he had been a National leader from the day he took membership in that body. His whole public record showed him to be a man of broad, sound views and a comprehensive grasp of public questions. His patriotism and his probity of character fully met the requirements of the very highest standard. For years he had been sounding the keynotes of Ohio campaigns, and the speeches made on such occasions were republished and used in the press and by speakers throughout the whole country. Having been Chairman of the Convention that nominated me and having personally solicited me to become a candidate, he felt especial respon-

sibility for the outcome. He labored accordingly. He was popular with all classes, and particularly with the Germans, who had been offended, and his speeches probably did the Republican cause more good in that campaign than those of any other speaker.

William McKinley was then serving his third or fourth term in Congress. Most of his political speeches prior to that time had been made in his own Congressional District, and in the northern part of Ohio, where he lived. Until that time he had spoken very seldom, if at all, south of Columbus; he had never spoken in Cincinnati.

He, too, like Sherman, felt a personal responsibility. He had written the platform. He was correspondingly active. It was my pleasure to speak with him a number of times during the campaign. He was, in common-sense-manner, in diction, in intellect, and in effectiveness, a model. I have never known any popular orator able to accomplish more than he with a popular audience. He thoroughly understood the masses, their desires and ambitions, their methods of thought and how to put himself *en rapport* with them. If the speeches of any one were equal in effectiveness to those of Sherman, they were the speeches of McKinley.

In addition to these two great leaders and speakers I had the help in an efficient, zealous way of many others of scarcely less ability and distinction; among them Governor Foster, who, although at the time unpopular with the German voters, because of the temperance legislation that had been enacted under his administration, was, nevertheless, extremely helpful as a wise counsellor and practical business-like talker, who was very popular with all other classes of Republicans by whom he was justly appreciated as one of the ablest and most successful Governors the State had ever had. Ex-Governor Noyes, Benjamin Butterworth, General Grosvenor, General Keifer, and General Gibson, all men of distinguished ability, and of long experience in public affairs, took the field early and labored faithfully to the end. In addition, there were many younger men, just

coming into prominence, who did effective work, such as Mr. Watson, who had seconded my nomination; Hon. R. M. Nevin, later a distinguished member of Congress from the Dayton District; Hon. Henry L. Morey, for several terms a member of Congress from the Third District; Hon. A. C. Thompson, a member of Congress from the Portsmouth District, and afterwards United States District Judge; Hon. John Little, at one time Attorney General of the State, and for several terms a member of Congress from the Xenia District; Hon. L. W. King of Youngstown, Hon. E. B. King of Sandusky, and many others who were equally helpful.

The State was thoroughly canvassed. I mention the names of the speakers who assisted me not only to give them the credit to which they are entitled, but also to give the assurance which the mere mention of their names does give, that our position was thoroughly and ably presented and defended.

The character of my own work is indicated by the first formal speech I made in the campaign. It was made at Hamilton, Ohio. I made it in answer to a speech made at the same place a few days before by my antagonist, Governor Hoadly. It was printed in full in the leading Ohio papers, and largely reprinted in the leading Republican newspapers of the country. It attracted nation-wide attention and was universally commented on favorably by the Republican press. As a sample I quote the following from the New York *Tribune:*

> Judge Foraker, in his speech on Saturday at Hamilton, gave an example of his powers of reasoning. . . .
>
> His exposition of the reasons for maintaining, unimpaired, the protective system is so clear and strong, so simple and convincing, that it marks him as a man of superior power. We do not remember to have seen for years a more convincing statement of those reasons. Nor would it be easy to surpass his treatment of the dodging Democratic platform, with its "sections that are to be wheeled to the front for free trade, or protection, as the locality may require." It is like the Indiana school teacher who was willing to teach that the earth was round or flat, as the directors might prefer. It would be a treat to see Judge Hoadly, with his evasions and subtleties, his fine phrases

and intrinsic weakness of position, within reach of his opponent on this question.

It would be very uncomfortable, too, for Judge Hoadly to discuss the Star Route business under the fire of an opponent who proceeds to show that the second trial was made necessary by three jurymen who voted to acquit, at the first, and that the leader of these, Foreman Dickson, was for Tilden and Reform in 1876, President of the Tilden Club at Washington, and for his services promised the marshalship of the district by Mr. Tilden. "He," says Judge Foraker, "will doubtless be for the old ticket and his marshalship in 1884." But at the trial, "he was for acquittal for revenue only—for he has since been indicted by the grand jury of the district for having been bribed." It would be interesting to hear Judge Hoadly defend this "corrupt Tilden Reform Democrat."

On one other subject it would be pleasant to hear the two candidates face to face. Judge Hoadly had said much of the "theft of the Presidency" in 1876. His opponent replies with crushing truth: "If he could but know and appreciate how right-minded, sensitively honorable men, without regard to political bias, regard the part taken by him in the Presidential controversy in 1876, he would never again speak in public of the theft of the Presidency. Everybody knows there was no theft of the Presidency and no attempt at theft, except only in the Oregón case, and that in the interest of Mr. Tilden. Judge Hoadly had charge of this case." And then he goes on to show that, while the Democrats, upon every other question that came before the Commission, voted according to party, when they came to my friend Hoadly's case they voted unanimously against it. Quite clearly the Democratic candidate is not going to get within range of his opponent's fire before any audience this year.

The treatment of the liquor question by Judge Foraker is manly, simple and strong. It will commend itself and him to all good citizens of Ohio, whether they are or are not temperance men. Even the more orderly and respectable liquor sellers, who wish to see the traffic kept within decent bounds, must admit that his position is just and his reasoning unanswerable. Even his opponents must concede that his speech is that of a man who has the courage to be honest, and that is more than can be said of Judge Hoadly's two-faced remarks on that subject. The great confidence which the Republican candidate shows ought to be justified by his triumphant election. He has proved, at all events, that he has in him the stuff of which Governors ought to be made. He is not afraid of the people; appeals like a man to their reason and conscience; discusses public affairs with the power of a master in reasoning and debate, and ably represents the convictions and aims of the great party that nominated him.

It will be noted that in the very beginning the debate between Governor Hoadly and myself embraced not only the general questions raised by the issues joined in our platforms, but also the Star Route frauds, the Hayes-

Tilden campaign and the Electoral Commission. All these subjects were introduced by him for the purpose, among others, of explaining why he had left the Republican party and become a Democrat.

He thus not only gave me an excuse, but at the same time made it necessary for me, in properly answering him, to recall a great deal of political history. I aimed to do this in such a way as to vindicate the Republican Party, and at the same time bring freshly to mind their great achievements, my purpose being not only to answer my antagonist, but to do so in such manner as would excite party pride, arouse party spirit and thus get the disaffected Republicans to thinking about something other than the cause of their discontent.

I was successful beyond expectations, largely because Governor Hoadly kept up his attacks from day to day, each time making himself more vulnerable by giving me the very ammunition I could use to the best advantage. This led to variety and spice on both sides of the debate. As a result, our speeches, stenographically reported, and many of them published in full, were widely read and our meetings were largely attended. As time passed and the debate became more and more pungent, interest ripened into excitement and enthusiasm. Bands, flags, banners with mottoes, processions, glee clubs and all other usual evidences of interest became a crowd-gathering feature of every meeting. The old mill and the old miller friend of my boyhood, a picture representing me as a private soldier, and even a dun-colored Canadian pony I rode when a boy, together with many other minor and wholly irrelevant and unimportant things and incidents came to have conspicuous places in the parades and literature of the campaign.

The following verses were published and republished:

BEN FORAKER'S BREECHES.

By Private Bill Jones.

Ben needed a new pair of pants when he was a boy, and Mrs. Foraker was too poor to buy the goods for them, and had nothing in the world to make them out of but an old coffee sack. Ben looked a

PRIVATE FORAKER,
Co. A, 89th O. V. I.
Campaign Picture, 1883.

little ashamed when he first put them on, but his mother said: "Never mind, my boy, if you grow up to be a good and useful man, nobody will ever ask what kind of breeches you wore."—*Commercial-Gazette's Highland County Correspondence.*

Old lady, you're just a leetle off
In your britches pint of view—
The kind of britches a feller wore
Made a difference in Sixty-two!

There was the chaps that wore them gray,
With graybacks in every hem,
And ragged and dirty—but they was brave;
We shot, but respected them.

And there was them that sneaked at home
And called us "Lincoln dogs"
And "hired cut-throats" and all sich stuff—
Them fellers wore butternut togs.

I guess, old lady, about this time
You've stumbled onto my cue,
And it's scarcely necessary to speak
About the "boys in blue."

Yes, I was out in the Eighty-ninth,
And fought the whole war through,
With your boy Ben, and I can swear
Ben Foraker's britches was blue.

For I saw him go up Mission Ridge—
Ahead of the regiment, too—
And jump the works and straddle a gun,
So I had an excellent view.

And we marched together to the sea
And up through the Carolinas,
And Ben was with us ev-e-ry time
Amongst the swamps and pines.

Just call on the boys of the Eighty-ninth
And ask them a question or two,
And you will find that your boy Ben
Was britches and heart true blue!

And when us fellers walks up to the polls
To vote for a Governor,
We're agoing to ask "when he was out
What kind of britches he wore!"

My work was constantly increasing. The demand for speeches was far beyond my ability to meet. My friends

were uneasy lest I break down; but, although feeling the fatigue and a sort of general wear and tear, I realized that my health was all the while improving. Nevertheless I was careful not to allow myself to become in any way excited or to over-exert myself physically. Doing so much traveling and making so many speeches probably caused every one to forget the illness from which I was only recently recovered, for all the papers were publishing comments substantially like the following from the Cleveland *Leader:*

> The principal reason why Judge Foraker has been enabled to do so much work is that he has a sound mind in a sound body. Another reason is that he takes everything coolly and allows nothing to worry him. When he speaks he never saws the air nor wears his shoes out by stamping the platform. He stands quietly before his audience, speaks in a clear, distinct tone, impressing his hearers by his dignified demeanor, commanding the closest attention, and making everybody hear him. His audiences feel that they are in the presence of a man of superior mental ability; that they are listening to the thoughts of a clean-cut, original mind, that holds in reserve a power of intellect that can be drawn upon almost without limit. The easy, unlabored style of Judge Foraker's oratory is its principal charm and the great secret of his power of endurance. He is a model for young orators.

Notwithstanding the character of our speeches and the earnestness and enthusiasm of the campaign, there was never the slightest departure from polite, respectful parliamentary expression upon the part of either Governor Hoadly or myself, in our references to each other. We had known each other ever since shortly after my admission to the bar. He had been one of my predecessors on the bench of the Superior Court. He had tried many cases and argued many questions before me while I occupied that position. When I sent my resignation to the Governor he was one of the first and foremost of the bar to sign a petition asking the Governor not to accept it. We were near neighbors on Walnut Hills, and voted not only in the same ward but in the same precinct. Our personal relations were cordial and each had a respect for the other that could not be affected by the clash of battle, no matter how fast and furious the contest might become. While, therefore,

there was unsparing arraignment by each of the party of the other, there was not, so far as the two candidates had occasion to speak of each other personally, any unkind expression. Neither called the other a thief, a crook, a liar, a boss, a blackguard, or anything else offensive; nor did either indicate from the first to the last that the other was an unfit man to be chosen to fill the office of Governor. The great moral uplift that made men so good and vituperative epithets so fashionable came later.

I had the good fortune to escape serious criticism for my defeat. On the contrary, I was by nearly all Republican papers, and by many Democratic papers, given great credit for the campaign I had made.

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* said:

The fact must be conceded that Foraker made a good campaign. He acquitted himself well. He made a strong, earnest fight. He comes out with a clear record.

The *Commercial Gazette* said:

Judge Foraker has so carried himself in the campaign just closed that defeat cannot harm him. If he did not win success he at least deserved it, and there is no man in Ohio today with a brighter future before him.

General Samuel F. Cary, a leading Democrat, and one of the most effective Democratic orators of his time, said:

The Republican defeat cannot be attributed to their selection of a standard-bearer. Judge Foraker is a man of ability and of unsullied character.

The Cleveland *Herald* said:

Foraker seems to have gained rather than lost prestige by his defeat. At any rate there is talk in the East of making him the Presidential candidate in '84. Even Democrats have been compelled to admit that he made a most manly and strong contest for the Governorship of the State, and his failure to secure it was not on account of any weakness of his own.

The Bucyrus *Journal* said:

However extensive our defeat, J. B. Foraker's part in the canvass is to him a victory. . . .

From his very first speech to the last he has done nothing that did not advance him in popularity and public confidence, and emphatically at the close of the canvass . . . he stands the most popular young man in Ohio.

As Lincoln's famous contest against Douglass introduced him to the nation and aroused the most favorable expectations for the future, so the canvass of Ohio by J. B. Foraker has introduced to the nation a statesman of whose future no anticipation is too improbable. Such a series of statesmanlike speeches, such an acceptable bearing, such frank carriage, such a popular candidate, and in one so young, is a revelation to the people of this State of one who, in the future, will vindicate the glory and renown that has attached to Ohio as the mother of eminent men.

The Ravenna *Republican* said:

The Democrats of Ohio never defeated a better man than Judge Foraker, nor did the Republicans ever elect a more deserving man. He made a gallant run and gained hosts of friends who will remember him with pleasure and pride. Very frequently when a party is defeated the disaster is attributed and attributable to the candidate, but in this case no blame attaches to him. Foraker made a wonderful canvass, generally speaking twice, and in several instances three times a day; always fresh, calm, dignified and scholarly. He attracted attention by his modesty and manliness, rather than by ostentatious display, as is often the case. . . . Judge Foraker's candidacy gave the people an opportunity to know him and become acquainted with him; and in the future, when the Republicans of Ohio have any honors to bestow, he will not be forgotten. . . . The politics of this State and nation need just such men to purify and strengthen them.

Hundreds of other such quotations might be made. In addition to what the newspapers said I received hundreds of letters containing expressions of the same general character as those published by the press. I content myself with inserting here only the following:

CANTON, O., October 12, 1883.

Dear Judge:—Nobody in the State regrets your defeat more than I do. You deserved a different result and could have it if the fight could be had over again. We are all proud of you anyhow. No candidate for Governor ever made a more brilliant canvass, and the friends you made will stick to you through life. I hope the great tax upon you physically will not prove to have been too much for you. I shall want to continue our friendship and hope to see and hear from you often. With great respect and sincere regard,

Your friend,

WM. MCKINLEY, JR.

HON. J. B. FORAKER, Cincinnati, Ohio.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

HISTORY repeats itself. It has done so pretty fully with respect to the temperance question in Ohio. Under our first Constitution we had the license system. Under the Constitution of 1851 that system was prohibited. Under the amendments to the Constitution adopted in 1912 it was again authorized. The objection to the license system as conducted prior to 1851 was chiefly that it made the State a sort of co-partner with the business; moreover there was something inconsistent to a great many minds in the requirements that as a first preliminary step in the procedure to secure a license to keep a saloon a man must establish in court that he had a good moral character.

The objection to the no-license system that followed under the Constitution of 1851 was that the traffic escaped rigid regulation, and, also, its just share of the burdens of taxation because of conflicting views as to the powers of the Legislature to provide satisfactory legislation, and, because of the sentiment still continuing that the State should not accept revenue from such a source.

Finally the Republican Party determined to deal with the subject, and thus put to the test and have the Supreme Court define the constitutional powers of the Legislature. In pursuance of this purpose they enacted first (April 5, 1882) the Pond law. This law was held by the Supreme Court (38 O. S. 199) to be void because in violation of the constitutional inhibition of a license system. Thereupon (April 17, 1883) the Scott law was enacted. It provided for taxation, regulation and municipal local option. Suit had been brought (April 17, 1883) to test its constitutionality and was pending undecided when the

State Convention that nominated me (June 6, 1883) was held.

Later, the Supreme Court upheld the law. (39 O. S. 399.)

At the time of this decision four members of the court were Republicans. The other member, Judge Okey, was a Democrat, and announced a dissenting opinion.

Later still, the personnel of the court having changed by reason of the election in 1883 of two Democrats, a number of other suits were brought attacking the law on some technical points newly raised. In one of these cases (42 O. S. 345) the Court, the two Republican judges dissenting, held the law to be unconstitutional, thus leaving us where we were before the Pond law was enacted. We remained without any further legislation until I became Governor, when in my inaugural address, January 11, 1886, I spoke of the general situation as follows:

During the recent canvass one of the questions that largely engaged the attention of the people was what should be done with respect to the liquor traffic. This question is of the greatest importance, but it is so related to personal habits and private morals as to render it impossible to make it a political question in the ordinary sense, and experience has taught in our State and others that it should not be a party question in any sense. The evils of this business are of such character that good men of all parties should stand together for their suppression, and it is thought the time has at last come when they may do so. For if anything has been accomplished by the discussions we have had, it is that there shall be no longer free trade for this traffic in Ohio, either by the absence of all legislation or by what is equally detrimental to the interests of the State and the morals of the people, only such legislation as there is no public sentiment to support. Such was the platform of the party that prevailed at our last election. It was clearly announced and emphatically endorsed. There should be, therefore, an immediate enactment of efficient measures to prevent and suppress the evils of intemperance, including the imposition of a tax upon the business wherever carried on. The so-called Scott law was a wise provision of this character. The decision of the Supreme Court declaring it unconstitutional was founded only on one feature of the statute. The constitutional right to impose the tax was not and cannot be successfully questioned. The difficulty is removed by simply omitting the objectionable feature. Such a measure has the merit of being practical; no constitutional amendment is necessary; it is immediate in its benefits; public sentiment will uphold and enforce

it; it will greatly diminish the number of places where this business is carried on, and, if wisely administered, it will, in a large degree, suppress the evils of all, and at the same time yield a much-needed revenue and leave the people free to deal with it further as they may ultimately see fit.

In accordance with this recommendation the Legislature on the 14th day of May, 1886, enacted the Dow law. In this legislation the points fatal to the Pond law and the Scott law were successfully avoided. Suits were brought attacking it as unconstitutional; but the Supreme Court overruled the objections and sustained the statute, which, subject only to such changes as have been heretofore mentioned, continued to be the law of this subject until the Constitutional Convention of 1912 again authorized the license system.

At the same time the Scott law was enacted the Legislature submitted two propositions to amend the Constitution to be voted on at the gubernatorial election in 1883. The first remitted the whole subject to the Legislature, and was popularly termed the "wet" amendment. The second provided for prohibition and was termed the "dry" amendment.

Under the first amendment if adopted the Legislature would have undisputed power to tax, regulate, authorize local option and also establish a license system.

The Republicans claimed that the Legislature already had power to tax, regulate, and provide for local option, and that in consequence the adoption of the first amendment would confer on the Legislature no power in addition to the powers it already possessed, and had exercised in enacting the Scott law, which the Republican party had approved, except only the power to re-establish the license system, which we did not favor, but the Democrats did.

The platform of the Republican Party approved the action of the General Assembly in submitting these amendments, but did not endorse either.

The Democratic platform in effect opposed prohibition by declaring against sumptuary legislation, and in legal

effect supported the "wet" amendment (for legislative control) by declaring in favor of a "judicious and properly graded license system."

In discussing these amendments Governor Hoadly on all occasions opposed prohibition and taxation and advocated the license system. In addition to what has beeen quoted from my remarks at Hamilton I said in the course of a speech at Ludlow Falls:

> The Republican Party, in its platform, upon which I stand, declared in favor of the regulation and taxation of the liquor traffic, and it has, by another resolution, approved of the action of the Legislature in giving the people, under the circumstances, the right to vote with respect to these constitutional amendments. And there the Republican Party stops. It goes no further than that. You can vote for either, or you can vote against both; you can vote for one and against the other; you can vote with respect to them just as you please. They are for the people to consider and dispose of without regard to political prejudice or political bias. Republicans and Democrats are standing shoulder to shoulder in support of them and in opposition to them. Both the friends and enemies of these propositions want to keep the question of their adoption or rejection out of politics. They do not belong in politics. And it is not my business, standing on the Republican platform as I do, in the first place, to go any further than that platform, and in the second place, in view of the sentiments I have referred to, it is not right that I should seek to drag these non-political questions that don't belong to politics into political discussion. And, therefore, with respect to these amendments, both of them, as a candidate of the Republican Party standing on its platform, it is my duty as well as my pleasure to leave them alone, both in the campaign and in the election. For that reason, I shall neither discuss them nor vote for them. And that is the answer I give to my friend, Judge Hoadly, when he asks the question, as he did the other day, whether or not I intend to vote for the second amendment.
>
> We leave the second amendment for the people to determine as they see fit, just as we leave the first amendment. It is not for me to champion the one and oppose the other, or to champion the other and oppose the one. The Republican Party says to both Democrats and Republicans, and to every man, "Settle these amendments as you see fit." We have given you the right to do it, and that we did because we believe the people ought to have the right to express their opinions when they ask for it.

The allusion to history repeating itself is made because, first, in the campaign of this year (1914) there were again two amendments under consideration; one "wet" and the

other "dry;" one known this year as the Home Rule amendment and the other as the Prohibition amendment.

In effect the prohibition amendment was the same as that submitted in 1883. The difference between the Legislative Control amendment of 1883 and the Home Rule amendment of 1914 was that the territorial or governmental unit that might exercise the right of local option is in the latter fixed by the Constitution instead of by the Legislature.

In 1883 the Constitution as it then stood required that to adopt an amendment it must be supported by a majority of the entire vote cast at the election, instead as now of a majority of the votes cast for and against on the particular question. Therefore, although the Prohibition amendment of 1883 received more votes than were cast against it, yet, failing to receive a majority of the total vote cast at the election, which was 721,310, it failed of adoption.

In 1914 Prohibition was defeated and Home Rule adopted.

The votes on these propositions were as follows:

In 1883:

For Prohibition	323,129
Against Prohibition	226,595

Although of the votes cast for and against, Prohibition had a majority of 96,534, it nevertheless failed of adoption because it lacked 37,527 votes of having a majority of all the votes cast at the election.

In 1883:

For Legislative Control	99,238
Against Legislative Control	288,605

or a majority of 189,367 of the votes cast for and against.

In 1914:

For Prohibition	503,292	
Against Prohibition	586,663	
Majority against Prohibition		83,371
For Home Rule	554,248	
Against Home Rule	546,248	
Majority for Home Rule		8,300

In the second place a comparison of the platforms of 1883 and 1914 will show that there was a practical repetition this year of what was done in 1883 with respect to the attitude of the two parties toward the proposed amendments.

In the third place there was a further, at least, partial repetition of history in the attitude of the candidates for Governor.

I felt it my duty in 1883 to keep the subject entirely in the background so far as I was personally concerned, and, therefore, refused to take any position in the campaign for or against either amendment, claiming that the principles of the Scott law, if upheld by the courts, as they were, afforded sufficient legislative authority for everything except state-wide prohibition and a license system, as to both of which the people had an opportunity to decide by adopting or rejecting the amendments then pending.

Governor Hoadly opposed both state-wide prohibition and local option prohibition, and also opposed taxation, except under a license system.

Governor Willis in the recent campaign agreed with his platform, as I did in 1883, that the questions raised by the two amendments were not political and that the people should be free, without regard to their political beliefs and affiliations, to vote upon them as they might see fit; for that reason he did not champion or oppose either, but stated that, notwithstanding, he believed in state-wide prohibition and would, therefore, vote for state-wide prohibition and against home rule.

Governor Cox, without making any specific declaration for or against either amendment, yet indicated by his speeches favor for home rule and opposition to prohibition.

While there was similarity of questions and in the attitudes of parties and candidates to the extent indicated, there was a very important difference in the election results.

Willis was elected, and I was defeated. No one, however, familiar with all the facts would, I think, ascribe my defeat

to the position I took with respect to these amendments, whatever may be the fact as to Mr. Willis' election being due to the position he took with respect to prohibition.

Many charged that he was driven to take the position he assumed to prevent Republican Prohibitionists from voting for Mr. Garfield, who was the Progressive candidate for Governor on a platform that openly declared for prohibition, both state-wide and nation-wide.

Whether there was any foundation for such a claim is immaterial. The fact remains that he so declared, and thereby retained and probably gained many votes, for even those not in sympathy with him, or his views, regarded his action as frank and manly. On the other hand he undoubtedly lost many votes on that account. Opinions may well differ as to the net result.

His campaign ended with a triumphant victory, not only for him, but also for the Republican ticket. How it might have ended if he had done otherwise can never be known, and it is useless to indulge in speculation on the subject. "All's well that ends well."

I doubtless lost some votes in 1883—I don't think I lost many—on account of the attitude I took with respect to the amendments then under consideration, but I have always felt that if I had declared for or against either of them my defeat would have been by a much larger plurality than Governor Hoadly received.

Aside, however, from that question, the position of the Republican Party, which approved, upheld and advocated regulation and taxation, accompanied by local option prohibition, was, I thought then, and still think, the best policy which the State could adopt with respect to the liquor traffic, even as a temperance measure.

It was practicable, simple, and easily enforced, in the largest cities as well as in the smallest hamlets.

However all that may be, the defeat of the amendments proposed in 1883 continued in force the Constitution of 1851, prohibiting a license system, thus leaving the subject of regulation in the hands of the Legislature with power

to tax, regulate and give local option prohibition, according to the principles of the Scott law.

Thirty years of experience followed. During this period a number of changes were made—the tax was largely increased, and the territorial unit for local option was enlarged from municipalities and townships, to counties, and additional restrictions and regulations were from time to time provided—all with a view to minimizing as far as possible the evils resulting from the business.

Generally speaking the results were good enough to justify a continuance of the policy in preference to a return to the license system denied by the voters of 1883.

Notwithstanding all this the late Constitutional Convention, subject to some restrictions, again provided for the license system, and the people, or a majority of about thirty per cent of them, that being all who voted, forgetting all former experience, and forgetting or overlooking the objections they once had made to apparent governmental partnership with the business, adopted the amendment.

The license system thus re-authorized, was scarcely put into operation until it was again assailed, but the attack has now been repulsed by the defeat of the prohibition amendment. Having withstood this first assault it may continue for years to come, but whether it does or not the policy of taxation, regulation, and local option adopted and championed by the Republican Party in 1883 was abundantly vindicated by experience during the long period it was in force as the wisest policy in many respects, especially as a temperance measure, ever put into operation prior to that time.

Although "chronologically ahead of my story" it seems in order to tell here my experience on the subject of temperance legislation in connection with the recent primary election, at which I was a candidate for the Republican nomination for United States Senator. As such candidate I received a number of letters interrogating me as to my views with respect to the pending amendments, and also with respect to nation-wide prohibition. Deeming it the duty of a candidate for public office to be perfectly frank

with the people as to his views with respect to questions about which they are concerned I answered all these letters in accordance with my answer to the first, which was from an old political, as well as personal friend of former years, Mr. F. L. Dustman, the editor of the *American Issue*, the official organ of the Anti-Saloon League. I take the liberty of incorporating both his letter and my answer.

His letter is as follows:

HON. J. B. FORAKER, COLUMBUS, OHIO, April 14, 1914.
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Senator:—A number of my friends who know of my years of personal and political friendship for you have asked me how I can support you for United States Senator when you will oppose a resolution such as the one enclosed, and which is now pending in the Senate, submitting a national prohibition amendment to the several States. My answer is that they are presuming you will oppose such a resolution should you be elected, and should the question come before the Senate, but that I have no reason to believe you would refuse to vote to submit the question to the States. Am I right? I ask this for my personal satisfaction.

With best wishes and kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,
F. L. DUSTMAN.

Perhaps it would have been better for me politically to have taken the advice of John Randolph and gone to see my friend and talked it out with him, but I thought he was entitled to an answer, and sent him the following:

CINCINNATI, OHIO, April 18, 1914.

Dear Mr. Dustman:—I am always glad to hear from you, whether you are communicating in a social way or otherwise, for you are always interesting and always personally friendly.

The question you ask me is quite proper, and, although I cannot answer in a way that will be entirely satisfactory to you, judging by what you indicate in that respect, yet I can answer without any embarrassment to myself whatever.

I have always thought, and have said so in hundreds of speeches, that the temperance question is economical as well as moral; and that for that reason, while it is a question of great dual importance and easily understood, yet it is also a question so related to personal habits and customs, as well as to business interests, that there cannot be any satisfactory enforcement of total prohibition laws except only where there is a sufficiently strong sentiment in their favor.

It was in recognition of this fact that the Republican Party, in the earliest days of political discussion on this subject, took the position

that the traffic should be taxed wherever found and should be regulated and restricted and restrained, as good morals, and the peace and security of society might require; and that, in addition, each locality should have an option to entirely prohibit it if it should see fit to do so.

In other words, if in any locality there was a public sentiment strong enough to demand it and enforce it, the traffic might be entirely abolished.

There are thousands of places in this and other States where there is such a public sentiment, and where prohibition has been adopted, and where with a greater or less degree of success it has been and is being enforced.

There are at the same time many communities, such as the largest cities of our State and country, where the sentiment in favor of prohibition is not strong enough to secure legislation of that character; at least, they have never made any successful attempt in that direction.

While, under the proposed amendment, to which you call my attention, every State would have a right to vote as it might see fit, yet the fact remains that three-fourths of all the States would settle the question, not only for themselves, but for the other one-fourth of the States that might be opposed. These States would probably be those having in them the largest cities.

This seems an answer to your suggestion that no one should object to allowing the States to vote on the subject. If every State voted for itself, and bound only itself, your suggestion would be in order; but in that case no amendment to the Constitution of the United States would be necessary, since each State is at liberty to take such a vote now if it sees fit to do so.

In other words, the proposition to make prohibition nation-wide is based on a recognition of the fact that there are States in which it probably will be impossible to secure prohibition in any other way.

I might write you at much greater length, but I think I have said enough to indicate to you why it has always seemed to me that an amendment to the Constitution of the United States of the character now under consideration was not consistent with the principle of home rule, which I have always advocated with respect to this matter, and is in my judgment calculated to precipitate conditions that would practically nullify all the good that might otherwise result, both morally and economically.

While the prohibition sentiment is undoubtedly growing stronger, and for that reason is likely to command attention in due time in an imperative way, yet there are questions just now pressing more heavily and acutely for settlement.

I had not, therefore, until your letter was received, given this subject any special consideration in connection with the approaching campaign; and I was not aware that any one thought of making it an issue at this time. I doubt if it can be given commanding prominence.

But whatever the truth may be in that respect, I have no opinions to conceal about that or any other question; never did have, and never expect to have; certainly not for the sake of getting any kind of political office.

If you should be traveling this way I would be glad if you would find time to call. I am sure I should enjoy talking over with you old times and old questions, in so far as they may be of interest now.

With kindest regards I remain

Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.

I had no intimation from Mr. Dustman or from anybody else that on account of the attitude I expressed in this correspondence I would meet with any special opposition until the evening of Sunday, August 9th (the last Sunday before the primaries, which were held on Tuesday, August 11th) when word came to me at my residence that the Anti-Saloon League, through its various district superintendents, and otherwise, had sent to all the ministers and pastors of the State actively in charge of congregations the following circular letter, signed in the different districts by their respective superintendents:

OHIO ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE,

Cincinnati District.

S. A. Propst, Superintendent.

Cincinnati, Ohio, August 5, 1914.

Dear Sir and Brother:—August 11th is primary day. We are counting on you to make a ringing appeal to the voters of your church to go to the polls and support worthy candidates. If bad candidates are nominated, good men will be responsible for it.

Kindly pass word along the line to your men that Mr. F. Marriott, Democratic candidate for Supreme Court Judge, is not only wet but is so prejudiced against prohibitory laws and their enforcement as to make him unsafe.

George Coyner, Republican candidate for Supreme Court Judge, is also wrong and unworthy of the support of temperance people.

Senator J. B. Foraker, Republican candidate for U. S. Senator, is against the resolution to submit national prohibition and is wet and generally unsatisfactory.

Give especial attention to the qualifications of Congressmen, State Representatives, Senators and law enforcement officials. If you do not know the record of these candidates, get in touch at once with leading men in your county who do know, or else ask for information from this office.

Kindly give information concerning the candidates to those who are entitled to vote for them.

Cordially yours,

S. A. Propst, Superintendent.

I have heard of some ministers who refused to join in an assault to which there remained neither time nor opportunity to make answer, but that many made "the ringing appeal" as requested, to the members of their churches to vote against me at the primaries.

I do not know what effect the circular had, but I presume the Anti-Saloon League would be loath to admit that they did not have enough influence, if exercised in the manner indicated, to control more votes than the plurality of my successful opponent.

In fact I have been told that they claim credit for my defeat, or rather did claim credit until it was stated in the newspapers, since the election, that Senator-elect Harding considers the vote on the wet amendment as in the nature of an instruction to him from the people he is to represent to vote against submitting a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States, so as to provide for nation-wide prohibition. I am further told that some of them now refer to their action in a way that does not indicate entire satisfaction therewith. They do not appear to see clearly what they have gained for their cause by what they accomplished.

The letter is dated August 5th, but I never heard of it until August 9th, and a copy was not available until August 10th, the day before the election.

While I do not think Mr. Dustman would have resorted to any unfair practice in making opposition to me, yet, I should have remembered that he was surrounded by others who had a grudge against me on account of which they were very likely to do so. I refer to an acrimonious controversy years before, in 1900, I believe it was, with the Rev. P. A. Baker, in which we said some sharp and ugly things about each other that were probably remembered by him and his co-workers, although on my part long ago effaced by more important matters so far as personal animus was concerned.

CHAPTER XIII.

A DIP INTO NATIONAL POLITICS.

THE National Republican Convention of 1880 will long be memorable because of the titanic struggle of Senator Conkling to nominate General Grant for a third term. Measured by the number of votes cast for each, Grant was the strongest of all the candidates presented to the Convention, Blaine next, Sherman third; Washburn, Edmunds and Windom were also candidates, but neither one developed any considerable strength. On the first ballot, Grant received 304 votes; Blaine 284 votes; and Sherman 93 votes. For thirty-six ballots, the Grant vote scarcely varied, the lowest vote cast on any ballot being 303, the highest 313; the last being 306. The Blaine vote was almost as steadfast, being 280 on the twenty-sixth ballot, declining to 275 on the thirty-fourth ballot, when concentration on General Garfield commenced, resulting in his nomination by a vote of 399 on the thirty-sixth ballot. Sherman, commencing with 93 votes, gradually increased to 120 on the thirtieth ballot, declining to 99 on the thirty-fifth ballot, or more votes, when concentration on Garfield became effective, than he had at the beginning of the balloting.

Grant had only shortly before returned from his famous trip around the world. Already popular beyond any other American because of his distinguished services as a soldier and as President, he had still further endeared himself to the American people by the modest yet dignified and popular way in which he had conducted himself while the tributes of respect and honor paid him wherever he went were literally showered upon him.

Blaine was then at the very zenith of his popularity. His defeat by Hayes in the convention of 1876 had

strengthened his claims for the Presidency with thousands of Republicans who had not before supported him. Sherman was just then in the enjoyment of his triumph as Secretary of the Treasury, in doing his part successfully in bringing about the resumption of specie payments. Grant would have been nominated by acclamation if it had not been that there was a deep-rooted prejudice in the minds of many of his warmest friends, as well as in the minds of the people generally, against a third term. Washington was still remembered, honored and revered by his countrymen. The example he had set had become an unwritten law, and the people were not willing to violate it even for their greatest hero and most popular fellow countryman. Blaine and Conkling had known each other for years. They had served together in the House of Representatives. On some occasion, while thus serving as colleagues, Blaine had given Conkling mortal offense by referring to the "turkey cock strut of the gentleman from New York." From mere dislike they had become bitter enemies. Conkling, recognizing the growing sentiment for Blaine, following his defeat in the Convention of 1876, cast about to see in what manner he could head off and prevent his nomination. It was to accomplish this purpose he undertook to utilize the popularity of General Grant and brought him forward as a candidate. In this movement he had the active and efficient support of Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania and Senator Logan of Illinois. Under fair conditions his program would have been successful, but for the reason already indicated, he lacked a few votes, which it was impossible to secure; but he defeated Blaine and named Arthur as Vice President.

Under ordinary circumstances, Mr. Blaine's claims for recognition, strengthened as they were by the defeat in the Convention of 1876, would have been promptly recognized, for he was justly regarded as one of the most brilliant men of his day and one of the most accomplished statesmen of his time.

So, too, it can be said that had it not been for Blaine and Grant, Sherman had claims that would have prevailed.

The Republican Party had prosecuted the war successfully. They had reconstructed the States. They had rehabilitated our finances, and under the management of John Sherman, both as Senator and Secretary of the Treasury, more than any other man, they had brought about specie resumption. It was a great triumph that deservedly ranked Mr. Sherman with the greatest financiers the country had produced.

Mr. Sherman thought then, and always thought afterward, that he was entitled to the nomination by that Convention. He so stated in his "Recollections." He so expressed himself to me in private conversation a number of times. He felt that his work was a lasting credit to the Republican Party and of immeasurable benefit to the whole nation.

He was not alone in this estimate of his services. The same opinion was entertained by all. He was, doubtless, the second choice of more of the delegates to that convention than any other man, but the feud between Blaine and Conkling made it impossible for him to get a vote at any time during the long hours through which the balloting continued that indicated his real strength.

His cause was greatly helped by the able way in which it was presented to the convention by General Garfield. Not only was the speech able but it had an unusual effect because of the unusual popularity of the orator. One of the questions decided by that convention was that delegations should not vote as a unit, as the Grant men desired, but that each individual delegate had a right to cast his vote and have it counted as he announced it.

Until that time this was an unsettled question in the Republican Party.

General Garfield opposed the unit rule and did it in a speech of such force and power and yet with such consideration for those who differed from him that he excited the admiration of the whole Convention and the entire country. Already popular because of his distinguished services in the army and in the House of Representatives, and on the Elec-

toral Commission, of which he was a member, he happened to be so situated as to make it his duty to do what so added to his popularity as to make him the nominee of the Convention.

During the early ballots, and until the very last ballots were taken Mr. Sherman got the full benefit of this popularity and the entire service General Garfield was able to render him. With so much to his credit and with his cause in such able and popular hands, his friends all thought that if only either Blaine or Grant could be eliminated without a nomination being made, the honor would surely go to Sherman. I am sure General Garfield so desired and that he was not at any time unfaithful to the trust that had been committed to him. His growing popularity with the Convention was the inevitable result of the simple discharge of his duty; and he did not take advantage of the opportunities presented to him with any selfish purpose in view, but only from a sense of duty to his party, his country and his candidate.

While all this so appeared to me at the time, and now, after the lapse of all these years, still more clearly appears to have been the fact, yet there were thousands of Republicans throughout the country, and especially in Ohio, who were disposed to quarrel with what the Convention did, when, instead of nominating Mr. Sherman, it turned to his Lieutenant, brought him to the front, and made him the standard bearer.

During the early weeks of the campaign this feeling seemed to grow rather than diminish. It was strengthened and added to in an exasperating way by personal attacks on General Garfield.

The Salary Grab, the DeGolyer contracts, and the Credit Mobilier scandals were all revived, and again brought to the attention of the people in every way the ingenuity of astute political managers could devise.

This was especially true of the Credit Mobilier scandal. The Congressional committee that investigated this matter had reported that notwithstanding General Garfield's state-

ment to the contrary, he had been paid three hundred and twenty-nine dollars as a dividend on stock in that company, for which it was claimed that he had subscribed.

Upon the strength of this finding, one of the modes of electioneering against him resorted to was to write with chalk the figures 329 on the sidewalks in the cities and towns, and on the fences and barns and gates throughout the country, the theory being that anybody seeing these figures would, if they were not understood, make inquiry as to what they meant, and thus open the way for somebody to tell of the alleged derelictions of the Republican candidate.

These attacks, coupled with the manner in which the nomination had come to him, which easily admitted of misrepresentation and false deductions, made the campaign appear at one time well-nigh hopeless; for the most valuable personal asset left to him, in view of these assaults, was his soldier record, and that was more than overbalanced by the brilliant record of General Hancock, his opponent.

Maine held her State election early in September. The result added to our alarm. But it was the Bull Run of the campaign. Immediately there was planned a great mass meeting to be held September 28th at Warren, Ohio, the old-time capital, as it was regarded and styled, of the Western Reserve, and of Garfield's district, and almost in the shadow of his home at Mentor. It was widely advertised. It was a great success. It was attended by more than 40,000 people, among them the Republican leaders, especially Grant leaders, from many other States; of these Senators Logan and Cameron, the Grant leaders in their respective States. It was a national event. It was in every sense of the word a success, not only in point of numbers, but also in enthusiasm and results. In fact it is not too much to say that in all the political history of our country no political mass meeting was ever held that instantaneously brought positive, and decisive far-reaching consequences and results equal to those accomplished by this meeting.

Its successful features and unusual results were due to the fact that it was everywhere heralded that it was to

be attended and addressed by both General Grant and Senator Conkling, and that Grant was to act, as he did, as the Chairman of the meeting. Both were there and both made speeches. Their respective utterances were characteristic of the men who made them.

Grant in a modest way, and in a tone of voice that could scarcely be heard by those immediately about him on the platform, read a speech that occupied not more than a half column of the newspapers.

Conkling spoke for two hours. He made an able and elaborate discussion of all the questions involved in the campaign. It was in all respects an able speech, worthy of the man and the occasion; but what Grant said expressed in epitome everything that Conkling said, or anybody else could say.

What Conkling said most newspaper readers only glanced through. There was too much of it to be read carefully. What they did read they speedily forgot, except only the fact that he was earnest in his support of the Republican cause, and anxious to see General Garfield elected.

Every word that Grant uttered was read by every Republican throughout the nation, all interested not only to know that he was at the front, doing battle for our standard bearer, but interested also to know exactly what he said, and how he said it. In stating why he was a Republican he gave an inspiriting key-note to every speaker who spoke afterward in that campaign.

Something of the spirit of the meeting may be gathered from the mottoes displayed. Among many similar the following: "High Tariff, High Wages and a High Old Time," "Senator Conkling, the Stalwart Statesman of the Republic," "Democratic Financiering and Repudiation," "Garfield, Protection and Prosperous Times," "Hancock, Free Trade and Lawlessness," "The World's Guest is Ours Today," "Let Us Have Peace."

From that moment until the close of the polls on the night of the election there was a genuine Garfield boom. He was elected and in due time inaugurated. He made

Blaine Secretary of State and made some New York appointments that displeased Mr. Conkling, particularly the appointment of Judge Robertson to be Collector of the Port of New York, a Blaine delegate to the Convention of 1880, who successfully defied the unit rule adopted by the delegation and cast his vote according to his choice. Feeling that their rights as Senators were disregarded and violated, but not feeling at liberty to antagonize a Republican President for such a cause, without authority from the power that sent them there, both Conkling and Platt, his colleague, resigned and sought re-election, with the idea of returning to the Senate as Republicans, but free to oppose the administration on questions of patronage, and in that respect make war upon it at pleasure. After a fierce struggle the New York Legislature decided against them.

Differing and bitter opinions resulted. On the one hand the Senators were assailed; on the other, the President. Harsh things were said, and an angry and tempestuous situation prevailed with an apparently sure promise of worse to follow, when at the crack of a pistol all was suddenly changed.

Garfield was assassinated, and instantly, so far as he was concerned, the tongues of slander and calumny were silenced forever.

What might have happened if he had lived, and what might have been its effect upon his personal fame, is only idle conjecture. What did happen is history and that records that he at once took, and still holds, as he always will, a warm place in the esteem of his countrymen.

Conkling was deeply humiliated by the denial of the vindication he sought, but he lived to see Arthur in the White House, and Blaine defeated for the Presidency by so narrow a vote that he was able to claim responsibility for it. Then when all his other fights had been fearlessly fought he fittingly forfeited his life battling with a blizzard.

Platt became the "Easy Boss" and in 1897, when the asperities of the time had subsided, returned to the Senate.

All this increased the feeling in Ohio that Mr. Sherman

should have been nominated in 1880. Garfield's death gave him another chance. As the months passed this feeling grew more intense. Therefore, when 1884 came, it did not need any announcement from Mr. Sherman to make him a candidate. Circumstances and friends made him that beyond his power to the contrary.

In the same way circumstances and friends made Mr. Blaine a candidate. He had been twice defeated, first in the Convention of 1876, and again in the Convention of 1880; the first time by Hayes, who was not regarded as so worthy as he of the honor; and the second time, through the feud with Conkling, on the one hand, and the meritorious claims of Sherman on the other.

As the time for the Convention approached Republicans all over the country, and particularly in Ohio, ranged themselves under the banners of these respective leaders. I was an outspoken advocate of the nomination of Mr. Sherman, but without purpose, or thought, of taking any part in the work of nominating him.

When I was defeated in 1883, I immediately returned to my law practice, and, as time passed, I determined more than ever to eschew politics altogether, and to devote myself entirely to my profession.

I had not seriously thought of ever again being a candidate for Governor, much less had it occurred to me, that, without seeking such a nomination, it would come to me a second time.

There were enough Republicans, however, of a different opinion to keep me reminded of the possibilities, and, therefore, in the early months of 1884, I began to receive letters from Republicans in the different parts of the State, calling my attention to the approaching State Convention, at which delegates-at-large to the National Convention were to be chosen, and not only requesting that I should become a candidate for delegate-at-large, but suggesting, also, the probability in certain contingencies, of my nomination for Vice President. There were scores of such letters. The following will indicate the nature of them and the kind of answer I made to them.

Major Benjamin Butterworth, for several terms a Member of Congress from the First District of Ohio, but at that time the Commissioner of Patents, was only one of many who wrote me on the subject. He wrote repeatedly and always like the following:

My Dear Foraker: WASHINGTON, April 14, 1884.

. . . . . .

You say you are out of politics; possibly you are. You are not more your own *now* than you were in 1861. I am not clear that the dangers that confront us are not as serious now as then. I think if Sherman is not nominated your chance for the V. P. is good, not only good, but *very* good. . . . Of course, you will not pretend that the ambition to attain to that height is not worthy. If the Vice Presidential nomination comes to Ohio, I deem it certain you can get it.

If Ohio demands it I feel assured it will not be refused. If Ohio sees that Sherman has a chance for the head of the ticket, she ought and doubtless will support him. It is clear that it would not be wise for Ohio to present his name in the first instance. . . .

Of course I want to go to the Chicago Convention if it is the will of my district or State that I should.

Let me hear from you. Truly yours,

BEN BUTTERWORTH.

To which I made the following answer:

CINCINNATI, April 17, 1884.

My Dear Butterworth:—Your kind and earnest letter is received. I sincerely thank you for the expressions it contains relative to myself. . . . I do not have any idea that matters will turn out as you seem to think they may at Chicago, nor do I desire they should. I prefer continuing where I am, and, aside from preference, it is a matter of necessity that I should. You know enough of my situation to know why this is so.

I shall not go to the Cleveland Convention, and do not want to go to Chicago. If, nevertheless, I should be made a delegate-at-large, I would accept, but would prefer seeing such honors distributed to others who are more deserving, among whom I class yourself. . . .

Very truly yours,

HON. BENJ. BUTTERWORTH, J. B. FORAKER.
Washington, D. C.

The Major was not chosen a delegate to the National Convention to represent either his district, or the State at large. The reason was not, however, because of any lack

of appreciation of him personally, but rather because holding his office by appointment from Arthur he was regarded, although he had not made any open declaration, as likely to favor Arthur's nomination, and for that reason neither the Blaine men nor the Sherman men, who, acting together, easily controlled both Conventions, were willing to select him.

I might quote many other letters written by me at the time to show my attitude with respect to politics generally, and the approaching Conventions in particular, but content myself with the following to my old college friend, who had seconded my nomination for Governor in 1883, Hon. D. K. Watson:

D. K. Watson, Esq., February 14, 1884.
Columbus, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—I am afraid I cannot be in Columbus on the 27th inst. I am not in politics now, and don't want to be in any more, and don't care a "continental" whether that suits anybody else or not. I have to be in Wooster on the 22nd and in Indianapolis on the 25th. I don't know how long I will be kept in Indianapolis, but I will be there on account of railroad litigation. I am attorney for a receiver, and may be kept several days. At any rate I will have been away from home so much by the 27th that it probably will be impossible for me to be in Columbus at that time; and whether I am in Columbus or not, I don't want to go to the Chicago Convention as a delegate or in any other manner. The only interest I have in politics, and the only part I will take will be to do all I can in a private way or on the stump, perhaps, to help elect the nominee of the Chicago Convention. At the same time it will afford me great pleasure to help you to go as a delegate if you will only let me know how that can be done.

In great haste, but Truly yours, etc.,
J. B. Foraker.

As forecast in these letters, I did not attend the State Convention. Nevertheless, I was, in the most complimentary way, chosen as delegate-at-large. I quote from the proceedings of the Convention, as reported in the daily press, not only to show what was said and done, as to myself, but because of some other statements found there that are of peculiar interest in the light of subsequent history.

First day:

At the meeting of the First Congressional delegation (Cincinnati) "W. H. Taft" (who was for Arthur) was chosen to be a vice president of the Convention. . . . J. B. Foraker was recommended for delegate-at-large. . . . Taft was further sugar-coated by being made spokesman of the delegation. . . .

There was a great deal of interest in the morning meeting of the Twenty-first District.

A motion was made and carried that the delegation should cast its vote as a unit in the State Convention on the question of delegate-at-large. Nominations for the endorsement of the delegation to that position were called for, and R. C. Parsons and M. A. Hanna were named. Parsons received fifteen votes, and Hanna twenty, which elected the latter.

Second day:

Yesterday there was not a Blaine man in either of the Cincinnati districts, and the Hamilton County delegation was solid against him, absolutely so, so far as Sherman is concerned, although partly for Arthur. The first move was made by Amor Smith, and he did it well. In a plausible and business-like way he presented the name of Judge Foraker, and it was received with much enthusiasm. I was somewhat surprised that it was seconded by a Blaine delegate, Judge L. W. King of Youngstown, who said:

> "Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Blaine men in Eastern Ohio, I want to say that we recognize that Judge Foraker represents, as no other man represents, the Republican Party of the State of Ohio. I hope that no Blaine man in this convention will feel called upon to vote against Judge Foraker. In our section of the State, where all of the people are for Blaine for President, we are willing to vote for Mr. Foraker." (Applause.)

He moved that the rules be suspended and the Judge be elected without ballot. When, later, after the first ballot, on which he led, Chairman McKinley received the same compliment, these two selections seemed more of a compliment than otherwise; at least there was no attempt to draw a preferential line. That of the first for the glory of a defeat. The other for his rather fortunate and very pleasant manner of presiding over the Convention. Both were graceful compliments to acknowledged leaders of the party. . . .

George A. Groot, of Cleveland, nominated M. A. Hanna, of Cuyahoga, and W. S. Cappeller seconded it. Then the fumes of the lower regions began to rise. They tried to put him through under a suspension of the rules by acclamation, as the selection of Foraker had been made. The Blaine men kicked worse than steers and shrieked louder than hyenas. . . .

A ballot was ordered. Hanna ran up to 285 votes, and West, who was for Blaine, to 310. When West's friends saw that the Clevelander was going in in spite of them, they decided to lay up some help as against the perils of the next and last selection, and gave Hanna a final boost into Chicago by swinging to him Logan County, West's own home. . . . This gave Hanna enough votes, and he was added to the list by acclamation.

Foraker went through with a rush, but Hanna had to take his chances with the rest.

This was, I think, the first appearance of both Hanna and Taft in State politics, and the first time, when I read the report of these proceedings, that I ever heard of Senator Hanna.

I knew him well afterward. His entry into politics as above described was characteristic of the man. Having decided to go to the Convention as a delegate-at-large, he wouldn't take any chances. Or rather, there were two chances, and he took both of them—District Convention the first day, and the State Convention the second. The Blaine men "kicked like steers, and shrieked louder than hyenas," but that did not matter. "The fumes of the lower regions began to rise," but they had no terrors for him. His name was Marcus Alonzo, which had a sort of pea-jacket suggestion that was childlike and bland. It should have been Marcus Aurelius, for in rugged character and aggressive courage, if not in gentle consideration for others, he was like that great Roman, ever ready for battle, and, although occasionally defeated, never conquered but once—then by death.

I had known Taft ever since immediately after he came out of Yale University, when he appeared in my court room one morning as a local court reporter for the *Commercial*. His bright face and agreeable manner at once attracted to him my favorable attention and excited for him a most friendly regard. His treatment at this Convention was also indicative of what was to follow. He was "sugar coated" with two very honorable recognitions—Vice President of the Convention, and "spokesman" of his delegation. For many years the best there was, and plenty of it, seemed to go to him without effort on his part. It is different now!

Senator Sherman in his "Recollections" (page 868) says, in speaking of the events of the latter part of the year 1883:

> At this period mention was again made in the newspapers of my name as the nominee of the Republican Party for President the next year. I promptly declared that I was not a candidate, and had no purpose or desire to enter into the contest. This discussion of my name continued until the decision of the National Convention, but I took no part or lot in it, made no requests of any one to support my nomination and took no steps, directly or indirectly, to promote it.

At pages 885 and 886 he practically reaffirms these statements. I never knew he had made these statements until after he was dead, and have no means of knowing exactly what he meant, except by interpreting the language he employed, and the natural understanding of this would be inconsistent with the facts.

He did not actively seek the nomination in the sense that he made an organization to promote his cause, or incurred any expense on that account. The fact is, however, that he had friends who insisted that he should be a candidate, and he did more than merely acquiesce in their judgment that his name should be presented to the convention. He was apparently not only willing, but glad to accept their support and encouraged rather than discouraged their efforts.

I had nothing to do with the matter until after I had been chosen a delegate-at-large. The Honorable Warner M. Bateman, at that time United States District Attorney for the Southern District of Ohio, was, perhaps, the closest man in Cincinnati to Sherman. He was indebted to him for his appointment, and was an enthusiastic supporter. A few days after our State Convention, knowing I favored Sherman's nomination, he called upon me to discuss the subject, and to acquaint me with the views of those who had taken the cause of Mr. Sherman in hand as to the course that should be pursued. This led to an exchange of letters with Mr. Sherman, from which I quote the following:

HON. JOHN SHERMAN, CINCINNATI, May 6, 1884.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:—I learn from Mr. Bateman that your friends think of not putting your name formally before the Convention at the start, but to

await developments and be determined by them as to whether they will do so at all or not. This may be the wisest thing to do, but I do not think so. It now looks to me as though Blaine and Arthur would lead and that very strongly. Many seem to think that Blaine may be nominated on the first ballot. At any rate, my judgment is that we should withhold from these other candidates all the support we can at the beginning, for in my judgment that is the point of danger. If we get safely by that, we have, I think, a good fighting chance. If you are not put in nomination, I fear there will be votes cast for others that you would otherwise have, and perhaps enough to do the work. If you are put in nomination, you will command your own support, and no matter if it should be small, it would be at least a nucleus to which others might be rallied, if the balloting continues. With your name before the Convention, we would have something, not only to hold your friends together, but to rally others to. If it is not put there, I fear the pressure may break us up.

This is none of my business, except as a Republican interested in the success of our party. It is because I have this interest that I feel at liberty, without apology, to make these suggestions to you. I think I need not say to you that in doing so I am neither courting any favors nor expecting any rewards. Very truly yours,

J. B. Foraker.

To this letter Mr. Sherman answered as follows:

United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

May 8, 1884.

My Dear Sir:—Your note of the 6th is received.

The question referred to has never beeen presented to me before, but it is manifest that it should be promptly answered.

I have conversed with Gen. Robinson and one or two personal friends, and they are of the same opinion you express, that my name should be presented to the Convention in the first instance so as to gather such support from other States as may not choose to commit themselves to Blaine or Arthur, and to enable my friends in Ohio to stand according to their choice. Personally I have no desire to choose between the gentlemen named, and have thus far done nothing to secure my own success, but, in justice to others who favor my nomination, I feel bound to give them all proper support in the Convention, and if they are successful, to do my utmost to ratify their choice.

During a recent visit at Mansfield I saw several of the delegates, and was happily disappointed in finding that the delegation is much more favorable for me than the papers gave out at the time of the Convention. Several who were set down as for Blaine are openly for me, some of whom I saw. Not less than twenty-eight will vote for me on the first ballot, and I had assurances that lead me to believe that,

whenever their votes would be effective, the whole delegation would be united upon me.

As to the person who would most properly present my name, the few gentlemen I have spoken to think you, as the chairman of the delegation, would naturally do so. It has been suggested that in a certain contingency, in case Edmunds' name is withdrawn, that Senator Hoar would do so cheerfully, but I hope that you will put yourself in a position to make the nomination, if on full consideration at Chicago, it is deemed best.

I am already assured of slight scattering support from different States, which will be very largely reinforced in case of the failure of Arthur or Blaine to receive the nomination on the first or second ballot.

There are many points about which I should like to confer with you, but every day has its changes, and twenty days may give a totally different aspect of affairs.

With many thanks for your frank and kind letter, which I gratefully appreciate, I am Very truly yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

HON. J. B. FORAKER.

I replied as follows:

May 12, 1884.

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 8th inst. is received. I am glad that you agree with me in the suggestions I made. The more I think about it, the more confirmed I am that such is our true course to pursue. I, too, am satisfied that you have more votes in the Ohio delegation than you have been given credit for, and I have found that we will get some votes from Kentucky, probably on the first ballot, certainly on the second or third.

I feel very much complimented by your suggestion that I should present your name to the Convention. It will afford me pleasure to do for you anything I can, but at the same time, if you should desire to make any other arrangement, I want you to feel perfectly free to do so. I rather like the idea of Senator Hoar presenting your name. His character and the State he comes from and everything of that sort is in his favor. If you prefer, when the time comes, that he or any one else in preference to myself should nominate you, do not hesitate to say so to me, as, while I should consider it a very great honor to put you in nomination, yet I recognize fully your entire right to control that matter in your own way, and would not wish to act for you except it be in full accord with your own judgment as to what was for your best interests. I would be glad to talk the situation over with you at some time before the Convention, but fear I will be unable to do so. I am very busily engaged in the courts and will be, according to the present outlook, until the very day of the Convention, so that I do not see how it will be possible for me to get away from here. In view of this I trust you will write anything that it may occur to your mind as

proper for me to know bearing upon the situation or in regard to anything you may want done. Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. FORAKER.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
Washington, D. C.

To this letter Mr. Sherman answered as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

May 16, 1884.

My Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 12th is received.

My absence for a day or two in New York explains the delay of answer.

While I am entirely satisfied that Senator Hoar would prefer my nomination and freely says that my nomination would be acceptable to the people of Massachusetts, yet, as he was designated by a convention that expressed a preference for Edmunds, he would undoubtedly feel bound to support him in the first instance and would not be in a situation to nominate me, or even vote for me until he was relieved by the progress of the balloting from the support of Mr. Edmunds. It is, therefore, better, and certainly it is agreeable to me to let your designation stand. I am now advised that McKinley wishes it distinctly understood that he is for me, but even in that event I think it would be more proper for you to make the nomination as the chairman of the delegation. The position of affairs in New York is very singular. The call for a movement of business men for Arthur is largely signed by my personal friends, one of whom told me that he signed it because he very much opposed to Blaine's nomination, and thought it was the best way to check a tendency towards Blaine, and that Arthur was not feared. I had also a free conversation with Mr. Evarts, which I am not at liberty to repeat, but which was very encouraging.

I believe there is a growing feeling among the business men that my nomination would be best, though whether it will find expression before the Convention I do not know. Both the independent Republicans and the Union League Club will be largely represented, both in and out of the Convention, and you can put yourself at once into communication with President White, Roosevelt, Mr. Curtis and others of the New York delegation. I will look over the list of delegates a week or two before the Convention, and either myself or secretary will jot down such information as I have in regard to them and will either hand it to Gen. Robinson or send it to you.

I send you a copy of Ben Perley Poore's Memoirs, not so much to aid you, but I think you will find the dates correct.

Very sincerely yours,

HON. J. B. FORAKER. JOHN SHERMAN.

To this letter I replied as follows:

CINCINNATI, May 21, 1884.

My Dear Sir:—Yours of the 16th inst. is received. I shall do for you the very best I possibly can according to my judgment and ability in the matter at Chicago, with very great appreciation for the honor of being allowed to perform such a service for you.

I have been watching the "business men's movement" on behalf of Arthur in New York; and, while it has been something I did not expect to see, yet I do not doubt that the ultimate outcome of it will be business men's demonstrations in your behalf. This is your strong point, and your friends will not overlook it. There is no question but that your chances are gaining strength daily here, and I think, from all I see, elsewhere. The demonstration in favor of Arthur will but emphasize the war between him and Blaine, and lead inevitably to your very great advantage.

We are beginning to think here that your chances are first-rate and you will be supported by a large delegation and an unusual demonstration from Cincinnati. We will leave here by special train on Monday morning, the second of June. If it is possible for me to do so, I shall go up Saturday, but my engagements are such I fear I can not get away before Monday morning. I shall be very much obliged to you for a list of the delegates, with such notations with respect to each as you may be able to make.

I received the copy of Ben Perley Poore's Memoirs which you sent and am very much obliged to you for it.

I can assure you that if you are not nominated, you will at least have a support which in point of respectability you need not be ashamed of, whatever it may be in point of numbers, and I trust we can make Ohio practically a unit for you from the outset. We are beginning to touch elbows on the matter and we are much gratified with the results as we discover them.

Very truly yours,

J. B. FORAKER.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
Washington, D. C.

On May 23rd, I wrote Mr. Sherman as follows:

CINCINNATI, May 23, 1884.

My Dear Sir:—Since I last wrote you I have succeeded in arranging some of my engagements here so as to admit of my going to Chicago not later than Saturday morning. I have an engagement to speak at Greenfield, Ohio, on Decoration Day, which is next Friday. I am endeavoring to get that canceled, and, if I succeed, I shall go to Chicago on Thursday night. It has transpired that parties will be there as early as Friday in the active interest of other candidates, and I think it important that we get on the ground as soon as others, and for that reason I shall go so early and I will endeavor to have our other dele-

gates go with me when I go and have also some outside gentlemen accompany us. I write this only because when I last wrote I feared, as I said, that I could not go until Monday morning, which would be a little late perhaps under the circumstances.

Very truly yours,

J. B. FORAKER.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
Washington, D. C.

To this letter Mr. Sherman answered as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

May 25, 1884.

My Dear Sir:—Your note of the 21st is received.

The last few days have brought to me favorable indications, of which I will advise you in due time.

I should regret very much if you could not be in Chicago by Saturday night. Many persons from different parts of the United States will expect to meet you on Sunday or Monday to confer as to plan of organization. I will send you by Capt. Donaldson, who will meet you there, some memoranda as to persons with whom you may safely confer, together with a list of delegates duly marked. I send you with this a list of delegates without notations, for I am not prepared to make them.

It has occurred to me—indeed, it has been suggested from a friendly source—that it would be well to divide the Ohio delegation on the first ballot by consent, equally between Blaine and myself.

Though probably a greater number than twenty-three would vote for me on the first ballot, according to my information, yet the division of the vote would show a friendly feeling in the delegation which would probably lead to good results afterwards. This strikes me favorably. I believe that among the friends of Blaine there is a feeling that my nomination would be their second choice, and as undoubtedly the people of Ohio are in many portions friendly to Blaine, it is not well to have any breach until necessary.

All this I merely suggest to you to consider. At the same time too close an alliance might lose us a large vote not friendly to Blaine that we may now reasonably hope for. Very sincerely yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

HON. J. B. FORAKER.

To this letter I replied as follows:

CINCINNATI, May 27, 1884.

My Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 25th inst. is received. I have succeeded in getting my engagement for Decoration Day canceled and shall therefore go to Chicago Thursday night. I will be at the Grand Pacific Hotel from and after Friday morning. We will do our utmost

to learn the situation and to avoid antagonisms, especially in the Ohio delegation, but I hope we will be able to do that without conceding to the Blaine men at any time any more than their actual strength, which will be, in my judgment, much less than one-half of the delegation.

Mr. Amor Smith will go with me Thursday night, probably also two or three others, and Friday night quite a number of other gentlemen will follow.

We are feeling very greatly encouraged about your chances. They are certainly growing rapidly better with every day. Such at least is the universal belief here.

Any further communication you may desire to make to me after the receipt of this please send to Chicago.

Very truly yours,

HON. JOHN SHERMAN, J. B. FORAKER.
Washington, D. C.

These letters not only show exactly what Mr. Sherman's attitude was with respect to his candidacy, but, also show what his expectations were of support not only from Ohio, but also from the other States, particularly from the Edmunds men of Massachusetts and New York. They also disclose his request that I present his name to the Convention.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONVENTION OF 1884.

ON my arrival at Chicago I met for the first time Marcus A. Hanna and Charles L. Kurtz; both of these gentlemen were there to support Mr. Sherman, Hanna as a colleague and Mr. Kurtz as a personal representative of our candidate.

These relations brought us into close contact and led to many conferences and much co-operative work in presenting the claims of Mr. Sherman to the different delegations, and in endeavoring to bring about combinations that would be helpful to our cause.

In this behalf we joined with others in trying to reach an understanding with the supporters of the other candidates, whose names were to be presented to the Convention, with a view to consolidating them against Mr. Blaine, who was recognized as having more support than anybody else. It was feared he might have a majority on the first ballot.

This fear made us anxious to get a test vote on some question before the balloting for candidates commenced that would disclose how much strength he really had.

With this in view, after repeated conferences, it was finally determined that, instead of accepting as the temporary Chairman of the Convention Senator Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, a Blaine man, who had been, in accordance with precedent, named by the National Committee, we would assert the right of the Convention to name its own Chairman by nominating for that office the Honorable John R. Lynch, a distinguished colored man of national prominence, who was a delegate from the State of Mississippi.

The proposition developed all the strength the Blaine men could command on the first ballot.

They opposed it as a violation of precedent, as discourteous to the National Committee, to the distinguished gentleman who had been selected as Chairman, and as calculated, for these reasons, to arouse bad feeling and create controversy and dissatisfaction in the ranks of the party.

Against all these objections we had in our favor the fact that it was clearly within the right of the Convention to choose its own Chairman, and that no one had a right to take exception to a legitimate action of the Convention that had such a close relation to the assertion of its own dignity.

George William Curtis, Theodore Roosevelt and Senator Lodge and others ably presented these points.

While we were clearly within our rights, I am sure the great majority of those who voted to substitute another for the selection of the National Committee disliked exceedingly to do so, and that the movement would have failed had it not been for the important purpose of developing the strength respectively of Mr. Blaine and "the field."

Mr. Lynch was chosen by 424 votes for him to 384 votes for Clayton.

The vote of the Ohio delegation was a disappointment to the supporters of Mr. Sherman, chiefly because until that time they had hoped that when it came to the test William McKinley, Jr., would vote with them, and bring with him to the support of Mr. Sherman a number of the delegates from his section of the State. In this they were disappointed. The vote was as follows:

CLAYTON—William McKinley, Jr., W. H. West, A. M. Pratt, J. N. High, R. W. McMahon, W. C. Lemert, O. T. Martin, G. M. Eichelberger, T. E. Duncan, J. F. Locke, C. L. Luce, J. B. Rice, E. L. Lybarger, C. H. Baltzell, M. R. Patterson, C. H. Andrews, W. Monagham, E. L. Lampson, J. O. Converse, A. L. Conger, T. D. Loomis, Edwin Cowles, A. C. Hord—23.

LYNCH—J. B. Foraker, M. A. Hanna, L. A. Staley (alternate), W. B. Smith, C. Fleischman, H. L. Morey, M. J. W. Holter, S. Craighead, A. R. Byrkett, J. S. Robinson, J. Morris, A. Hart, B. F. Stone (alternate), O. B. Gould, H. S. Bundy, C. D. Firestone, C. E. Groce, W. I. Shriver, A. W. Vorhes, C. H. Vorhis, E. G. Johnson, W. L. Sewell —22. Absent, not voting, Amor Smith, Jr.—1.

We knew after this vote had been taken that it was not possible for Mr. Blaine to be nominated on the first ballot; we also knew that on account of the division of the Ohio delegation there was less chance than we had supposed for the success of Senator Sherman.

What occurred subsequently can be better told, I think, by publishing the correspondence with respect thereto that passed between Senator Sherman and myself.

After the result had been reached I wired him what it was. I received from him in answer the following letter:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

June 9, 1884.

My Dear Sir:—Your telegram of the 6th is received.

I did not need this to assure me that you had done all that could be done to promote my nomination, for which I give you my cordial and hearty thanks, without qualification or mental reservation. The division in the Ohio delegation placed you in an embarrassing position. The unexpected defection of McKinley and the overwhelming popular demand for Blaine made your task difficult and impossible. I have no respect for the complaints of the independents, who have no part in politics except to find fault. They could easily have dictated the nomination, for, notwithstanding the strong popular feeling for Blaine, there was a sober sense that his nomination was a dangerous experiment, but the failure to combine upon anyone made it not only inevitable but proper. I believe he can be elected; that that feeling having been yielded to, his popularity will overcome all difficulties and carry the doubtful states. Certainly I will do what I can for the success of the party. That is much more important than the triumph of any man.

Again I say to you that what you have said and done for me in this canvass meets my hearty approbation and my unstinted thanks. I feel a sense of relief now that the contest is over, and have no regrets at the result. It is not at all probable that I shall ever be a candidate for public office, and am, therefore, glad to say that in you I have found a friend who has been true to the obligations of honor without turning to consider his own personal interest.

Very sincerely yours,

HON. J. B. FORAKER. JOHN SHERMAN.

On my return to Cincinnati I wrote him, June 9, 1884, giving him a full and detailed account of everything done at Chicago that in any way concerned him, and telling him that I had been appointed a member of the committee to officially notify Mr. Blaine and General Logan that they

had been nominated. I quote only the postscript, which in the light of the present is not without interest. It was as follows:

P. S.—I found Mr. Roosevelt to be a young man of rather peculiar qualities, but sincerely anxious to bring the Edmunds men to your support. He is a little bit young, and on that account has not quite as much discretion as he will have after while, and for that reason was somewhat less influential than I hoped to find him. He was, however, your sincere friend and aided me all he possibly could throughout the whole matter. I think it would be very proper for you to acknowledge his kindness in a personal note. I want to suggest also that you do the same as to Henry Cabot Lodge of Boston. I found him to be a genuine good man. I think him not only absolutely honest in all that he endeavored to do, but he is a man of culture and a man of most excellent judgment. There is nothing "cranky" about him. I esteem him most highly of all the men in that delegation. He is a coming man without doubt and I am anxious to have you make him your friend. So please, in such terms as may seem to you to be suitable, thank him for his kind position with respect to you throughout the matter. It was not his fault that Massachusetts did not carry out the programme. I will tell you whose it was when I see you in Washington.

In due time I received from Mr. Sherman the following acknowledgment of my extended report:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

June 11, 1884.

My Dear Sir:—Your very interesting letter of the 9th is duly received. It is in accordance with the observations I made of the canvass as it progressed and now, with fuller information than when I wrote you last, I repeat again what I then said, that all you did was entirely satisfactory to me and entitles you to my grateful thanks. Any suggestions to the contrary are false. If you think it worth while, you might tell Halstead to put a paragraph in his paper to that effect, and to denounce the statement made in the slip from the *Sun* as an absolute falsehood. I have never intimated to mortal man any suggestion of the kind referred to, nor am I "in the dumps" at all. I am entirely content with the situation and I do not think that the strong, popular opinion in favor of Blaine should have been ignored.

I will follow your suggestion in respect to Mr. Lodge and Mr. Roosevelt.

If you come this way in going to Maine or returning, I should be very glad to see you and have you stop with me.

Very sincerely yours,

HON. J. B. FORAKER, JOHN SHERMAN.

This was the first National Convention in the proceedings of which I participated. I had before that time been present as a spectator at the Liberal Republican Convention of 1872 and the National Republican Convention of 1876, and the Democratic Convention that nominated Hancock in 1880, all held in Cincinnati.

I knew something, therefore, from observation of the character of such bodies, and of the manner in which they proceeded to accomplish the purposes of their creation.

I soon realized, however, that being a part of the Convention, charged with the responsibilities that belonged to a delegate, and especially if charged also with the duty and responsibility of representing and presenting a candidate for nomination, and protecting and advancing his interests in every proper way, was something quite different from being a mere looker-on from the galleries, free from all personal accountability.

The conferences were innumerable, occupying all the daytime and almost all the nighttime, preceding the Convention and during the Convention. These conferences have no place in the report of the proceedings of the Convention, but they were an important part of it. This work had been so taxing upon the strength and the mental operations necessary to keep up with it that I felt scarcely able to attend the evening session at which it was decided candidates should be nominated. Consequently, long before the time came, somewhere near midnight, for me to place Mr. Sherman's name in nomination, I found myself well-nigh completely worn out and exhausted.

I feared I might not be able to discharge the task assigned me. When, therefore, Ohio was called, I went to the platform with much misgiving as to the result. I had in mind in a general way what I wanted to say, but I had no particular language in mind with which to say it. My speech, therefore, was, as some one once facetiously said, a "carefully prepared extemporaneous speech."

I tried to adapt myself to the situation as it then presented itself. Although Mr. Sherman had but few votes on

the ballots that were cast, yet he had many friends, not only among the delegates, but also in the galleries. As a result, I had a very cordial reception. In fact, the demonstrations indicated so much friendship and good will that I forgot all the disadvantages under which I was laboring.

When I faced the audience, the greatest and most important assemblage I had ever addressed, I not only felt the inspiration of the occasion, but there came to me an assurance that enabled me to speak calmly, clearly and yet energetically and effectively.

My remarks were repeatedly interrupted with generous rounds of applause. These also were very helpful.

One of the interruptions continued for thirteen minutes, and was the climax of all the demonstrations of the Convention.

It was innocently precipitated by a complimentary allusion to Mr. Blaine. This was my first appearance on the platform in national politics, and for that reason I insert the speech in full as stenographically reported and published in the press of the following day:

SPEECH NOMINATING MR. SHERMAN, 1884.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:—If the noise and demonstration and nominating and seconding speeches, when numerically considered, could either nominate a candidate or elect him to be the President of the United States, I would not, in view of what has transpired in this hall tonight, take this stand to perform the duty that has been imposed upon me. But in view of the fact that such results do not necessarily follow such demonstrations, but more particularly in view of the fact that these demonstrations are conflicting and these orators are opposing, I am emboldened to come before you that I may in a humble way say a few plain words for a very plain but a very great and grand man. (Loud applause.) But, sir, first and foremost, I want to say again here and now, what I have had occasion to repeat so many times since I came to Chicago to attend this Convention, and that is that Ohio is a Republican State. (Applause.) She will cast her electoral vote for the nominee of this convention. (Cries of "good, good," and applause.) But, sirs, she claims no credit, and she asks no favor on that account. She would be untrue to herself if she did otherwise. She could not do less without injustice to the memory and teachings of a long line of distinguished sons who have won imperishable renown for themselves and their country, both on the field and in the Cabinet. I am not here, therefore, to ask anything for

her or in her name as a condition precedent. On the contrary, let it be distinctly understood that whatever she may do in other years—and I happen to know that she sometimes acts strangely (laughter and applause)—she never failed to carry our flag to victory in Presidential campaigns. She has always been ready to enthusiastically follow the chosen leader of the party, and she was never more so than at the present time. Today, as in the past, her highest ambition is that with her October election she may worthily and victoriously lead the Republican column. (Loud applause.) If, therefore, it be true that in the past she has enjoyed distinguished favor, she humbly hopes it has been no more than a just recognition accorded by her generous sister States. And if she is proud of the names of Grant and Sherman, and Sheridan and McPherson, and Chase and Stanton, and Hayes and Garfield, it is only because, for their illustrious services to the whole people, the whole people are proud of them also. (Applause.) And if for these distinguished men Ohio first claimed national consideration and honor, it was not because they were her sons, but only because, the better knowing their worth, she put them forward for the common good. She has had no selfish purposes to subserve. She has none such today. She fully recognizes and appreciates the fact that what is best for the whole Republican Party is best also for her.

Moved by no other feeling, she has a name to place before this Convention. You have heard it before. From one end of this land to the other it is as familiar as a household word. It is the name of a man who has been an acknowledged leader of the Republican Party for the last thirty years. He is identified with every triumph of our most wonderful career. He stood at the forefront in the struggle with slavery. He was a very pillar of strength to the government in its death grapple with secession. His personal impress is upon every line of reconstruction, and when our national integrity had been preserved by the valor of our soldiers in the field, and there came that wild and senseless mania of inflation that threatened to sweep the country and tarnish the national honor, it was his luck to stand in the breach as no other man stood. (Applause.) Save only the war, that was the greatest danger that ever menaced the American people. A failure to resume specie payments in 1879 would have been almost as thoroughly fatal to this republic as would have been success for Lee at Gettysburg. It was patriotic courage and heroism in the one case no more than in the other that saved the day and accomplished for us the sublime results in which we have ever since rejoiced. The people of this country know and appreciate that fact, and they still have a profoundly grateful recollection of the services thus rendered; and this is especially true at this particular time, when Wall street gambling and what you characterized in the platform this day adopted as Democratic horizontal reduction, have done their bad work. The flood tide of prosperity has been arrested and we have been brought through the several stages of stagnation and decline to the very verge of business demoralization and panic. Confidence has been shaken and impaired; its restoration is to be the controlling question of the coming campaign, and if we would

act wisely here, we must recognize that fact and make our nomination accordingly. What man, then, of all those presented to this body for consideration, most fittingly and completely meets the requirements of this situation? In answering that question, I can say as others have said here tonight, that I have no thought or word of detraction or disparagement for any other name that you will be called upon to consider; and in the language of that platform, as it was read by our friend from New York here tonight, I, too, can say and I do say without hesitation, that under the present chief magistrate we have had a wise, a conservative and a patriotic administration. (Applause.) And I say also, that no man's admiration is greater than mine for that brilliant genius from Maine. (Applause long continued and described by the reporter as follows):

> Another boisterous demonstration followed this mention of the man from Maine, which in vehemence and fervor on the part of the audience and comparative apathy on the part of the delegates, outdid all former ebullitions. To the tune of the most discordant yells from the galleries, hats, flags, handkerchiefs and articles of wearing apparel were flashed and fluttered wildly about, until the air trembled with the concussion. One enthusiastic gentleman seized a flagstaff and the plumed floral helmet was paraded around the hall, drawing out a still more frantic outburst of yells and shrieks. In the midst of the uproar the band struck up some indistinguishable tune, but the throat capacity of the audience was more than equal to the emergency, and the bazoo-rippers and drum-thumpers were drowned out as effectually as if they had been playing against the rolling thunder of Niagara. After some twelve or thirteen minutes of bedlam, the audience responded to the summons of the gavel and subsided into semi-silence. Judge Foraker resumed as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention:—I shall not compliment anybody else until I come to my own man. And resuming, permit me to remind you that you have violated an old, time-honored maxim, "Never to holler until you get out of the woods." (Cheers and applause.) You should not do so, for I may want to say something now that you will not want to applaud; for that which I want to say further to this convention is this, that what we want, what we must have, what we stand here tonight charged with is the grave and responsible duty of laying the foundation for success in November next, and to that end, that we may have that success, we must nominate a man who will make not only a good President, but the best possible candidate. (Cheers and applause.) That is what we want, and to that end we want a man who is distinguished, not so much for the brilliancy of his genius as for that other safer, better and more assuring quality, the brilliancy of common sense. (Applause.) We not only want a man who is a pronounced Republican, thoroughly tried in the crucial tests of experience (at this moment the speaker was interrupted by loud and continuous calls of the name of Blaine), but we want also a man whose very name will allay instead of exciting the distrust that disturbs the

industrial interests of this country. (Applause.) He must, of course, as gentlemen have eloquently said from this platform tonight, be a friend to human liberty, to equality of rights. (Cries of "Blaine" from the gallery and all over the house.) He could not be a Republican if he were not. He must believe, as it has been well said, in the protection of American citizens at home as well as abroad. Not only that, but he must be a man who can find, under the Constitution and laws of this country, some method whereby the brutal butcheries of Danville and Copiah may be prevented. (Applause.) Not only he must believe in these things, but there is one thing in which our platform reminded us today he must not believe, and that is a substantial reduction of the duties on iron and steel and wool. On the contrary, he must believe, and that, too, in the most unqualified sense, just as we have declared here today, in the protection of American industries, the development of American resources, and in the elevation and dignity of American labor (applause); and not only must he believe in these elementary and fundamental propositions of Republicanism, but he must have a record so clear, so bright, as to not only challenge, but defy criticism and assault, and at the same time make him a representative of all the highest and purest motives and aspirations of the great Republican Party; and over and above all this he must be a man in whom the people believe. (Cries of "Blaine! Blaine!")

Judge Foraker (continuing): Oh, no, sir, no, sir,—not simply that he is honest, not simply that he is capable, not simply that he loves Republicanism and hates Democracy, not simply that he is loyal and patriotic, but that combined with all these essential attributes he possesses, by reason of his experience, that essential qualification that makes him most potent to deliver us from the evils that threaten our present safety. Nominate such a man and victory is assured; we will have four more years of Republican rule, during which time this republic will continue to grow with greatness at home and increased respect abroad. As such a man I nominate John Sherman of Ohio. (Applause.)

The speech was not only well received by the Convention and by the audience in the galleries, but by the newspapers of the country. All spoke kindly and most of them with great praise.

The following are only fair samples of what substantially all said. The Cincinnati *Commercial* said:

The speech of Judge Foraker nominating Sherman, was a very striking success, delivered with energy, yet calmly, with an impressive manner and a voice that rang and was penetrating. He referred to Arthur, and a pleasant reference to Blaine set the tempest from Maine loose again and gave the boys a chance to deliver the most astounding roar of the night. The speech was judicious and strong. The friends of the eloquent young leader may safely congratulate him upon his splendid effort. He made his mark upon the convention.

Another report said:

In nominating Sherman Judge Foraker received quite an ovation. He was listened to with great attention. Nobody who heard Foraker could doubt his loyalty to John Sherman. It was peculiar that while the Sherman part of the Ohio delegation refused to participate in the Blaine demonstration, the entire delegation joined in the applause for Sherman. Foraker spoke of Arthur. There were a few cheers. Then he expressed his admiration for that brilliant chieftain of Maine. The Blaine fever broke out again. Foraker gave Blaine, merely by an incidental reference, the biggest boost he has had yet. The galleries got uncontrollable. The white plume was seized and put on top of a starry flag, and amid the wildest imaginable scenes it was carried around the center aisle. Foraker conducted himself amazingly under the ordeal. He made a good point when quiet again reigned over the convention, by reminding his hearers that they should not shout until they were out of the woods.

Foraker's speech was not ambitious in its style, but was the best that was made.

Looking over the newspaper reports of the proceedings of the Convention to refresh my recollection, I have noticed that the reporters indulged in some pen pictures of the most prominent actors. Some of these are interesting enough, in view of subsequent events, to justify their reproduction, especially the following:

Henry Cabot Lodge was called, and a tall young man with crisp, short hair, the same kind of full beard and an appearance of half-shut eyes, arose, and spoke in a clear, rasping voice. He wore a coat closely buttoned, and appeared to be on his good behavior.

Hamilton Fish, Jr., was called, and he arose. He is of medium height, with a brown mustache, parted nearly in the middle as is his hair, and presenting a prominent nose. He was dressed in a closely-buttoned cutaway coat, high, straight collar, light-colored scarf, and, like Wm. Walter Phelps, who appeared in banged hair, was properly English in appearance. So was Lodge, after the manner of the young Anglomaniac, along with Roosevelt. But in this respect all were laid in the shade by Curtis, with his intensely intellectual John Bull face, mutton chop whiskers and hair, parted evenly in the center and slightly banged.

Hoar, of Massachusetts, baldheaded, baby-faced and spectacled, irresistibly suggests a cross between Greeley and Pickwick.

George William Curtis, of New York, spoke smoothly and well. It was noticed that all the men of this section had their hair parted in the middle, banged in front, wore an eyeglass, rolled their r's and pronounced the word *either* with the *i* sound instead of the *e*.

Roosevelt, Fish and Lodge applauded with the tips of their fingers, held immediately in front of their noses.

The person attracting the most attention was Roosevelt, who is a rather dudish-looking boy with eyeglasses and an Olympian scowlet-for-a-cent. . . .

Another account, giving the closing scenes of the Convention, said:

After the exhibition that young Roosevelt and George W. Curtis made of themselves in this convention it will not do for them any more to play the part of goody-goody censors of ordinary party methods. Curtis allied himself with the machine, and Roosevelt acted as badly as a ward politician. He may have ability, but he has also an inexhaustible supply of insufferable dudism and conceit, and he has a brassy impudence that will some day be fittingly rebuked. It will not be forgotten that the gentlemen from the East were the only ones who pouted and sulked like whipped school boys when all the rest of the great army of the defeated were enthusiastically shouting the great and glorious name of Blaine.

It would seem that this man had both ideas and imagination. However that may be, the newspaper boys and cartoonists have keen perception, a lively sense of humor and much amusement at the expense of other people.

At this Convention I made the acquaintance of a great many men from other States, who were warm and much appreciated friends in later years.

I have already mentioned ex-President Roosevelt and Senator Lodge. Among others were John B. Henderson of Missouri, the permanent Chairman of the Convention; Senator George F. Hoar, and Governor John D. Long of Massachusetts, the latter Secretary of the Navy under McKinley; William O. Bradley of Kentucky, afterward Governor of his State, and a Senator of the United States; Roswell G. Horr of Michigan, a distinguished member of Congress, and Russell A. Alger, Secretary of War under McKinley and a Senator of the United States at the time of his death; John M. Thurston of Nebraska, Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois, Morgan G. Bulkeley of Connecticut, Julius C. Burrows of Michigan, Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, and Redfield Proctor of Vermont, all afterward Senatorial colleagues.

I there also renewed my acquaintance with ex-President White of Cornell, who, without any knowledge on my part

that he intended to do so, and notwithstanding I had declined to allow my name to be used for the place, honored me with his vote for Vice President.*

The Notification of Mr. Blaine.

I was surprised, but gratified, to find it announced in the newspapers a few days after my return to Cincinnati, that I had been appointed to represent Ohio on the committee charged with the duty of officially notifying Mr. Blaine of his nomination, and that the members of the committee were notified to meet, June 20th, at the Parker House, in Boston, preparatory to going from there in a body to Augusta, Maine, to discharge that duty on Saturday, June 21st.

I arrived at the Parker House at the time designated. I was accompanied by my son, J. B. Foraker, Jr., then only twelve years of age. I registered as J. B. Foraker and son. I had hardly reached the rooms assigned us when I heard some one knocking at the door. I opened it to find myself confronted by a local reporter for one of the Boston papers. He inquired if my father was in. I told him, "No, he was not there." He then asked, "Where is he?" and seemed greatly surprised when I told him he was at his home in Ohio, or was when I last heard from him. It then developed that, looking at the register, and seeing that I was accompanied by my son, he thought, in view of my youthful appearance, I must be the son.

This incident in time got into the press, and became the subject of a good deal of comment, some of it rather amusing.

I mention it only as indicating that there must have been some ground, so far as my appearance was concerned, for the objection made to me the year before in my campaign for Governor, that I was too young for such a great office. That was an objection that time could and did cure, but the objection urged in the recent primary that I was too old was more serious and more effective.

On my way with the committee from Boston to Augusta I for the first time met Thomas B. Reed, with whom I had

* See note at end of chapter, page 174.

a rather close acquaintance always afterward until he resigned from Congress. He was one of the brainiest men I have ever known. You could not talk with him on any subject without becoming impressed with his mental force and power. Knowing him by reputation as a lawyer of unusual ability, it occurred to me to ask him how it was he could find time and get the consent of his mind to go to Congress. He answered in that drawling tone with which all who knew him were so familiar, that he had asked himself that question many times, but had never been able to get but one satisfactory answer, and that was "to beat the other feller."

He was noted for his effective repartee. On one occasion he was engaged in a sharp colloquy with one of the Democratic leaders of the House, who was credited with Presidential hopes and aspirations. In answering something Mr. Reed had said, he remarked that he "would rather be right than be President." Mr. Reed not only scored a laugh upon his opponent, but made him the subject of much ridicule by retorting, "The gentleman need not trouble himself; he'll never be either."

The committee was composed of very distinguished men and all the formalities appropriate for such a function were observed and executed with great care and dignity.

I first met Mr. Blaine when he came to Cincinnati to speak in the Hayes Campaign of 1876, but I had not seen anything of him in the meanwhile. He had a charming personality under all circumstances, but he was at his best when addressing a popular audience. He was a speaker of not only commanding presence, but of marked ability. The tones of his voice were agreeable. His argument was always clear, concise and logical, yet so simple as to be easily within the comprehension of the most ordinary understanding. He had the faculty of making everything plain.

His speech on this occasion was delivered on his lawn from manuscript. It was brief, simple and appropriate. The best thing connected with it was its unostentatious but impressive delivery.

The personal acquaintance renewed on that day continued until his death. I should have participated in the

campaign had I not participated in the Convention; but under all the circumstances I regarded it as a special duty to give every help I could render, especially after the bolt of the Mugwumps under the leadership of

George William Curtis and Carl Schurz.

I had first met Curtis at Cornell in 1869, when I attended a course of lectures he gave there on literature.

I had repeated conferences with him at Chicago. He knew all the while that the chances were decidedly in favor of the nomination of Mr. Blaine. The purpose of his conferences with the men of the different delegations was to prevent that result, but never at any time did he intimate that in the event of defeat he would bolt the nomination and assist to defeat our nominee.

It is safe to say that nine-tenths of the men who were conferring with him and acting in accord with him would have refused to confer with him further or to co-operate with him in any way had he at any time stated, or even intimated that in the event of Mr. Blaine's nomination he would refuse to support him and join with the common enemy in bringing about a Democratic victory and a Democratic administration.

He was a man of high character in many respects, who had many lovable qualities, for which he was esteemed, admired and kindly regarded by all who knew him, but he was nevertheless an impracticable idealist, to whom it apparently never occurred that, acting as he did, with those whose co-operation he sought, bound him as an honorable man to stand by the action of the Convention, unless for some new reason, not heard of until the nomination was made, he felt it his duty to refuse that support. Nor did it seem to occur to him that his action at the Convention, followed by his leading part in the defection that defeated us, was more dishonorable than anything with which Mr. Blaine was charged, even though it had been true, which it was not, any more than were the charges against Garfield true, which did not interfere with his support of that candidate. But it was not simply a case of idealism. It was

far more a case of bossism. I have observed that most men who have distinguished themselves in my time by loud profession of superior virtues and devotion to reform, have been men who would violate every precept they preached for the sake of forcing their views upon others, and then sulk and refuse to play if they could not have their way. This was true not only of Curtis, but also, and even more so, of Carl Schurz, his chief assistant in the Mugwump movement. I have already mentioned that I served with him for a few weeks near the close of the war on General Slocum's staff.

He was always an intensely interesting personality, even when not in accord with you, but he was aggravatingly stubborn at times.

He was assigned to General Slocum after the army reached Raleigh, N. C., in 1865, for such duty as the General might designate. General Slocum had served with him in the Army of the Potomac, and remembered him rather distrustfully as a commander of troops in connection with the battle of Chancellorsville. Slocum was embarrassed to know what to do with him. He had no chance at that time to give him a command commensurate with his rank, which was that of Major General, without displacing some General whom he preferred. For the time being, therefore, he made him a sort of nominal chief of staff. On account of the surrender of Joseph E. Johnston, which followed so soon afterward, and the evident nearness of the close of the war, he did not remain with us very long, but long enough for me to have with him a number of conversations, not only about our own country and the troublesome questions that would arise when the war was over, but also about his own country and the cause of his leaving it and becoming a citizen of the United States. He was never quite satisfied. He was generally positively dissatisfied. He had been a revolutionist in Germany and had become a chronic political disturber here. He passed back and forth between the parties as freely and almost as frequently as he traveled from one city to another. He had been a Republican Senator from Missouri, but had helped organize

the Liberal Republican Party that opposed Grant's nomination in 1872. He got back, however, into the Republican Party in time to be Secretary of the Interior under Hayes. He had now been out of office for four years, and was ready for another revolt, in which he promptly engaged.

Knowing these men as I did, and feeling they had no just excuse for setting on foot the movement they led, I regarded it an especial duty for all who were loyal Republicans to take an active part in the campaign.

In so far as I could I accepted all invitations. As a result I spoke during the campaign not only throughout Ohio, but also in Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Virginia and in a number of the western States.

In company with Senator Hanna and others, I met Mr. Blaine at Buffalo when on his way to Ohio, and remained with him most of the time he spent in our State that year.

I was active in helping to organize what was at the time intended to be a club for only that campaign, but which, made permanent, has come to be known under the name of the

Young Men's Blaine Club,

as one of the most famous political organizations in the country.

I had the honor at their request to suggest their well-known motto, "Vim, Vigor and Victory."

In an address delivered from the balcony of the Burnet House, held under the auspices of this club, Mr. Blaine took occasion, in the course of his speech, prompted by the name of the club, to address himself especially to young men. This part of his speech was a classic, so pronounced by all who heard or read it, without regard to whether they agreed with his political views or not. He had been so much maligned that he was greatly misunderstood by the people of our State. This speech did much to correct false impressions. All agreed there could not be anything very bad about a man who could express such thoughts. All his speeches were helpful, but this one was of such lofty character that it aided more than any other to secure him our electoral vote.

His defeat, especially by so narrow a margin, and for such aggravating and unlooked-for reasons as those which lost him the thirty-six electoral votes of New York by a plurality of the popular vote for Mr. Cleveland of only one thousand one hundred and forty-nine, seemed to me like not only a great national and party calamity, but also like a personal bereavement. It was the case of Henry Clay over again, only worse in some respects.

I felt that it not only put upon us a great public duty to fight for the cause of Republicanism and re-establish it, but that we had a great moral duty of vindication resting upon us that would not be discharged until we had reversed the verdict of 1884.

This had much to do with my continuing in politics and again becoming a candidate for Governor in 1885.

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* CORRESPONDENCE WITH AND. D. WHITE.

I have so frequently been asked what Mr. White meant by a reference to me he makes in his Autobiography that I deem it due both of us to publish the following correspondence in regard thereto.

It speaks fully as to the nature of his comments and what he both did and didn't intend to express:

UNITED STATES SENATE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 17, 1905.

HON. ANDREW D. WHITE, Ithaca, N. Y.

Dear Sir:—In reading your autobiography I have just come across your reference to me on page 206 of Volume 1, where you speak of having voted for my nomination as Vice President in the National Republican Convention of 1884, notwithstanding I had "sundry defects of qualities" which you "freely recognized," etc.

I no doubt do have "defects of qualities," and perhaps "sundry defects of qualities." I am sure you thought so, or you would not have so recorded it, but while the same thing can be said of almost anybody else, for there are very few perfect men, yet if you thought it necessary to make such a statement at all, I am sorry you did not specify what these defects are, so that I might at least have the benefit of your judgment in any effort I might see fit to make to overcome them.

The indefinite statement you make is like the lifting of the eyebrows, or shrugging of the shoulders when someone's name is mentioned, by which it is understood that something is wrong, but, no specifications being given, anything, moral, temperamental, or what not, no matter how serious, may be inferred.

It is painful and embarrassing to me to write you, but somehow I feel impelled to do so, for I have always supposed that I had your friendship and good will, and that, as a student of Cornell, if on no other account, I was entitled to it.

I would have supposed, if I had thought of it at all, that if at any time you should have occasion to mention me, especially in a book "inscribed to your old students with most kindly recollections and best wishes," that is likely to have a permanent place in literature, you would not weaken or annul any words of compliment you might employ, as you have done in this instance, by the virtual apology, which your statement amounts to, for the vote to which you refer; an apology made at my expense, and less agreeable because of the fact that I was not a candidate, and your vote was cast on your own motion, without any solicitation, knowledge or even desire on my part.

The wounds of a friend are considered faithful because they are supposed to be given in a way and under circumstances

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* Note cited on page 169.

that allow the wounded a chance to recover and amend. When not given in that way they cut deeper, and are harder to bear than when administered by open enemies.

I trust it is not necessary for me to say that I do not write to give offense, but only because I shall feel better satisfied if I express in a "downright, straightforward" way what is in my mind.

Very truly yours, etc.,
J. B. FORAKER.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

ITHACA, N. Y., April 20, 1905.

HON. J. B. FORAKER, Senate of the United States, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Senator:—I regret from the bottom of my heart the phrasing of the reference to which you call my attention—not at all because it justly bears any such interpretation as that which you give it, but because you have misunderstood it, and because an equivalent but slightly different phraseology would have at once shown you that my purpose was to award you great and well-earned praise, without the slightest cloud upon it.

The qualities I ascribe to you—fearlessness, uprightness, downrightness, straightforwardness—which "must always play a great part in American politics," are those I have recognized in you from our first acquaintance, qualities which, in my opinion, are those most deeply and justly admired by the great mass of men, and among these, by myself.

I have always believed that those qualities, enforcing your acknowledged intellectual strength, took you into the Civil War, brought you to this university at a time when it was struggling hard against its enemies, and lifted you, in a state full of strong men, to the position you now hold. At various times I have gladly and heartily defended you against attacks, replying that the basis of all such denunciation and attack simply resolved itself into this: that "sweet reasonableness" is not your strong point; that you hold your opinions tenaciously and fight for them unsparingly; that the *suaviter in modo* is at times in your case overborne by the *fortiter in re;* in fact, that you have "the defects of your qualities."

Had I inserted the word "necessary" before the word "defects" in my text, there would have been no mistake, but the phrase as it stands is the usual form, and it did not occur to me that anyone would misconstrue it.

It is, as you may know, the translation of a French phrase, and it has not in it the slightest tinge of "faint praise."

Think over the strongest and best men you have known, including Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Chase and a host of others, and exactly the same thing has always been said, and truly said, regarding them—and said, too, by their supporters and admirers.

You think that I might well have specified the "defects of your qualities." But I took it for granted that my reader would see that the meaning involved in the phrase was that a man can not have the qualities I ascribe to you without naturally incurring censure and even attack for a less development of sundry milder qualities. In dictating the phrase as it stands in my book, my idea, had it been expressed verbosely, would have taken some such form as follows:

"Grant that he has been steadily persistent when he might at times, perhaps, have shown lenity; that he has been a bitter fighter when he might, at times, have tried milder methods; that he has been unyielding in standing by his own conclusions when he might, at times, have brought his opinions into harmony with those of others; the things complained of are but 'the defects of his qualities,'" without which, as a rule illustrated throughout human history, you can not have in any high degree the greater qualities and characteristics which I have specified.

Take some of the greatest men who have held the Presidency. Washington, who had in the highest degree dignity and serenity, was complained of for "aloofness" and "standing apart from the people"; John Quincy Adams, whom Henry S. Foote, his lifelong enemy, told Carl Schurz was "the best equipped political man he had ever met," was complained of for "coldness"; Andrew Jackson, whose effectiveness as a fighter is a glorious part of our history, was bitterly attacked for refraining from

gentler methods; Lincoln, who, with all his great qualities, was attacked for lack of dignity, for too much lenity, for too much "sweet reasonableness"; and Grant, who, with the determined characteristics which saved our country in the time of its second great peril, was attacked for lacking appreciation of reforms and reformers. There was ground for all these attacks; in each case the very possession of great qualities was necessarily somewhat at the expense of a certain range of qualities infinitely less important.

Those were the ideas in my mind which took shape in the paragraph referred to. I threw in the apparent concession to the gainsayers—with the direct purpose of accentuating my admiration for your career. Without it, people might have said, "White is blinded by his partiality to his old student—so that he does not see what we see"; but in writing as I did, my intention was to say, "I know what you allege against my old student, and whatever there is of any force in it enures to his advantage, since it is a natural and normal result, and therefore an evidence of the highest qualities you seek in candidates for the greatest honor within your gift."

Now, my dear Senator, in mercy don't let a matter of this sort stand in your mind for a moment between us. I prize our friendship, beginning as it did and culminating as it has done in these latter days, as among the best things life has brought me. Old friends have been taken from me fast enough in recent years—in the natural course of things. I beg that I may not lose *your* friendship, indeed, your *hearty* friendship. You will find when you become as old as I now am that such relations are more and more precious as they naturally grow fewer. Believe me when I say that I have always taken pride in your career. Should a new edition of my book ever be issued I will see that a change is made which will leave no doubt of my feeling. Should any occasion occur when I can pay a tribute to my old student, which will interpret the real meaning of my mention of you, I shall certainly avail myself of it most gladly.

Even as it stands, I believe that if the whole paragraph, signed not merely by myself, but by all the ex-college presidents, college presidents and university dons in existence, were posted up at the door of every courthouse and every church in your State, it would do you no harm. Nay, more, I think that if it were read, just as it stands, by every reasonable being in the whole country, it would strengthen your hold on popular favor rather than weaken it.

Pardon your old friend, charge his offense to the clumsiness of age, and with thanks for your recent courtesies to me and to my wife, which both of us deeply appreciated, and with every good wish to Mrs. Foraker, your daughters and yourself, in which Mrs. White most cordially joins, I remain

Your faithful friend,

AND. D. WHITE.

I can not find on my files any copy of my reply, but the nature of it is sufficiently shown by the following:

ANDREW D. WHITE,
CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

ITHACA, N. Y., April 28, 1905.

HON. J. B. FORAKER, Senator of the United States, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Senator:—Returning to Ithaca, I find your letter of April 21st, and am, of course, greatly pleased with it.

Am especially glad that you wrote me directly and in a direct, straightforward manner, as to your feeling, and rejoice that our old relations are fully restored.

Please tell Mrs. Foraker that I thought, in my letter, of urging you to put the whole matter into her hands, for the instincts of a woman in such matters are generally better than the reasonings of a man. I felt sure that she would take my view of the case when she thought it over, and I rejoice to learn from you that she is with you in expressing satisfaction at the result of the whole matter.

With every good wish to both you and your family, in which Mrs. White most cordially joins, I remain,

Yours faithfully, AND. D. WHITE.

CHAPTER XV.

AGAIN NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR.

THE election of 1884 was scarcely out of the way when the Republicans of Ohio commenced discussing the campaign of 1885, and especially the nomination for Governor. It quickly developed that there would be a number of candidates.

General John Beatty of Columbus, who had commanded a brigade in the Army of the Cumberland, a gallant soldier and a very able man, and also General Robert P. Kennedy of Bellefontaine, another ex-soldier who had distinguished himself on the firing line and who was a very able campaigner, had their respective friends who vigorously advocated their claims. They were both well known over the State, and both had many followers and champions, not only among the voters, but among the newspapers.

William G. Rose of Cleveland, who was the candidate for Lieutenant Governor on the ticket with me in 1883, was also popular in his part of the State, and there was a strong disposition to give him the support of Cuyahoga and some of the surrounding counties.

My name was prominently mentioned from the beginning and pretty generally over the State, but I felt that I had been favored with the honor in 1883, and that I ought not to ask for another chance, and determined I would not, except in a receptive way.

Another reason why I was reluctant to become a candidate even in a receptive way was that my law practice was rapidly growing and I was anxious to devote to it all my time, strength and energy.

It proved rather difficult to adhere to the attitude I assumed, but I maintained it to the end, notwithstanding I had to defend myself against some rather vicious attacks

from enemies within the party who sought to stir up opposition to my renomination, especially among the colored voters.

A war of this kind—to alienate the colored vote—had been made upon me during the campaign of 1883 by Democrats. It was revived and made over again this time by Republicans.

Governor Hoadly had been a strong anti-slavery man, who was noted for his friendship for the colored race.

The attack was made in 1883 to defeat my election. It was made in 1885 to defeat my renomination.

It did not prove to be a very serious matter when fathered by Democrats, who made the attack in the interest of the Democratic Party; but it assumed serious proportions when fathered by Republicans, and was made by Republicans in the interest of such distinguished Republicans and ex-Union soldiers as those who were seeking the nomination in 1885.

There were two grounds for the attack, both relied upon in 1883 and both brought forth again in 1885. They were, in the first place, a silly story to the effect that I left the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware and went to the Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, to finish there my education, because a colored man had been received at Delaware as a student.

It was so easily and effectually answered when first brought forward that I supposed it had been disposed of for all time.

The other ground was the fact that I had in 1882, after resigning from the bench and resuming the practice of the law, successfully defended William J. White, my old classmate, Superintendent of the Public Schools of Springfield, Ohio, against an action for damages that had been brought against him in the United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of Ohio, for an alleged violation by him of the Civil Rights law, in denying to Eva Gazzaway, a colored girl, some privileges she claimed she was entitled to enjoy with respect to the public schools of Springfield.

This, too, was effectually answered, not only by myself, but by counsel representing the plaintiff, among whom were

two negro lawyers, all of whom made public statements to the effect that I did in connection with the case only what my duties as an attorney required, and all of whom testified that I did not speak any word in the conduct or argument of the case that was in the slightest degree offensive to the colored race.

I had a right to assume that neither of these matters would ever again be brought forward to prejudice my claims upon the colored voters of my party. It was annoying, therefore, and embarrassing to see these objections revived and urged by Republicans who had joined in their rejection and refutation in 1883.

At that time there were a number of newspapers published in Ohio edited by negroes. Every one of them seemed to be arrayed against me. They gave much space in their columns to reprinting these stories, with all kinds of extravagant and exaggerated and false features and amendments added.

It was soon manifest that it was a carefully planned and well-supported campaign of ugly hostility, the intent and purpose of which was to so array the colored voters of the State against me as to alienate the support of Republicans and especially Republican newspapers friendly to me, by creating in their minds apprehension and fear that I could not be elected if nominated.

The negro vote was so large that it was not only an important but an essential factor in our consideration. It would not be possible for the Republican Party to carry the State if that vote should be arrayed against us.

The situation was rapidly becoming embarrassing. I was somewhat perplexed to know how to deal with it without making myself an avowed candidate. My embarrassment in that respect was happily and most unexpectedly relieved.

I received a letter making inquiry about the matter from Mr. S. E. Huffman, a colored man of Springfield, Ohio. I answered him at length, showing there were no facts to justify any of the criticisms that had been made, and also at the same time I set forth, as his letter gave me opportunity to do, my attitude with respect to a renomination.

This letter was widely published, and, except with real enemies, set the whole matter at rest, not only then, but for all time. In view of its effective character I publish it in full. It was as follows:

MR. S. E. HUFFMAN, Springfield, Ohio. February 2, 1885.

Dear Sir:—I thank you for your very kind letter, and assure you that I properly appreciate your warm expressions of confidence and esteem.

I have noticed what you refer to as being said in the newspapers about the attitude towards me of a few of the colored Republicans of Springfield. I have cared nothing whatever about it so far as it affected the question of my renomination, but I have very greatly regretted that there should have been any such unjust expression toward me on the part of the colored people. I have said nothing in answer because not wishing to appear, even to the extent of defending myself, as seeking a renomination. But now that you, a colored man and a total stranger to me, have volunteered to write and ask me for "the facts," I feel it to be due to you, as well as to myself, to state them.

First, however, let me say that it is not a matter of importance to me who is the nominee of the Republican Party. I think we can easily elect, this year, any one of the many distinguished gentlemen who are talked of in that connection, and, so far as I am personally concerned, I shall be entirely content with whatever selection the Republican Convention may see fit to make. I would not, therefore, say a word to influence in my favor the sentiment of the party, white or colored, in regard to that matter. But to the end that I may answer your questions and dispel any misunderstanding that malicious falsehoods may have created, I shall, as you have asked it, take some pains to state what every man, white or colored, who has known me during life will confirm.

And first let me say that I have always been a Republican in the most radical and uncompromising sense of the word.

In 1862, when only sixteen years of age, I enlisted as a private in Co. A of the 89th Ohio Regiment. I served with this regiment for three years, until the close of the war. At that time I did not know that I would ever be a candidate for any office, and certainly did not dream of such a thing as ever having my attitude toward the colored people called in question. My expressions at that time ought, therefore, to be conclusive as to my sentiments in that regard.

When a man is made a candidate for such an office as that of Governor of Ohio, everything that he ever said or did is likely to be made public.

Such seemed to be my fortune when a candidate in 1883. Among other things published at that time were some of the letters I wrote home from the army. I had nothing to do with their publication. I did not even know that they were yet in existence until I saw them in print. I can never forget the mortification I experienced at seeing a private

correspondence thus made public, nor how unendurable it would have been but for the testimony it gave me of the mother's affection that had led to their preservation and publication. But it would seem now that it was well that they were published, since it enables me to point you to them as an incontestable record to disprove the charges to which you refer. For in them you will find that I then wrote that *"the war ought not to stop until slavery is abolished, and every colored man is made a citizen, and is given precisely the same civil and political rights that the white man has."*

The war ended, and all who knew me then will testify that I was uncompromisingly in favor of the enfranchisement of the colored people as a basis of reconstruction in the South, and as a matter of justice in the North.

And when it was proposed to amend the Constitution of Ohio in 1867 by striking out the word "white," I took an active part in the campaign, although still in school at Delaware, speaking in favor of the measure and voting for it at the polls—the first vote I ever cast.

This brings me in chronological order to the charge that I left the Ohio Wesleyan University because a colored man was admitted there as a student.

I was in attendance at the Ohio Wesleyan University and a colored man was admitted as a student there. He was there for one term from January until about May, 1868, and that colored man is now the Rev. Mr. Mortimer, an esteemed colored minister, and a man of intelligence, culture and character, who was stationed in 1883 at Zanesville, Ohio. He is probably there yet. He is a man who can speak as to the facts in regard to the charge made against me in that respect, and he will tell you, if you will take the trouble to write to him and ask him about it, that the story that I left the Ohio Wesleyan University because he or any other colored man came there, is a baseless falsehood.

The truth was, so far as I can recollect, that there was but very little dissatisfaction manifested on the part of any one because he became a student there. In fact, I only remember one student who left on that account, and I need scarcely add *that he was a Democrat then and is a Democrat still.*

Mr. Mortimer left school at the end of his first term of his own free will and accord. I did not leave there until one year later, when I left and went to Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, where I graduated; and the reason why I left was well known to all the faculty and all the students, and to nearly all the people of Delaware at the time. It was simply that I might have what at that time seemed to me sufficient to warrant the change, some experience with Eastern men and colleges, and have, what I then thought more of than I do now, the distinction of graduating in the first class from what I thought was, and is, destined to be one of the greatest universities of the country. No one ever thought of such a thing as that I left Delaware because a year before a colored man had been in attendance there; and certainly nothing could be more ridiculous than that I would remain in attendance at Delaware during the entire time the colored man was there and never think of leaving on that account until a year after he had left. As I said above, Mr. Mortimer, himself a colored

man, entitled to the confidence of all men, will, I am sure, confirm all that I have said in regard to this.

Since I left school in 1869 I have taken some part in almost every campaign, speaking in behalf of the measures represented by the Republican Party, and always, as every colored Republican in Cincinnati knows, chiefly and especially in favor of those measures that looked to the bettering of the condition of the colored people, in the North as well as in the South. What I have from time to time said in this regard has not been so forcible, or so eloquent as that which many others may have said, but it has been as earnest, for no man with more *earnestness* than I, until we were rid of them, denounced and contended against the infamous visible admixture laws placed on our statute books by the Democratic Party. No man more earnestly than I, at all times, until it was secured, contended for the political equality of the colored man, and the guarantee for that equality, by the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States; and when the civil rights law was pending before the Congress, and particularly in 1874, when it was a party question in Ohio, I never failed on any occasion where opportunity was afforded me, to speak in behalf of it. While I did not talk as ably as others did, yet I am sure I spoke quite as earnestly, as the following language will testify. I quote from a speech made by me in 1874, in the city of Cincinnati, and published at the time. I then said:

> "The object of the civil rights bill is to prevent masked marauders from burning negro schoolhouses, shooting negro school teachers and keeping this innocent and inoffensive people in a state of terror, which retards their development and corrupts and demoralizes society and politics in a hundred ways. And it is right, and the Republican Party is for it because it is right.
>
> "When in Columbus the other day I stood in our capitol building and looked with admiring gaze upon that magnificent painting which adorns its walls, of 'Perry's Victory on the Lake.' There, in the midst of the death storm of that terrible conflict, as gallant looking as any one of the brave faces surrounding the commodore, is a full-blooded representative of the African race. And so it has always been since our government was founded, on land and on sea, in adversity and prosperity, through peace and through war, this race has been ever present with us, and never once has its faith faltered, its devotion lagged or its courage failed.
>
> "They have justly earned their citizenship and they have earned it in such a way as that for us not to protect them in it would be the basest ingratitude and wrong—ingratitude and wrong for which the nation would deserve to sink to rise no more."

But equality of rights for the colored man does not mean a denial of rights to the white man. It does not mean that if a colored man sues a white man the white man shall not be allowed to defend himself. Yet such would seem to be the idea of those who make complaint because I defended Mr. White when he was sued by Mr. Gazzaway for $2,000.00 because of an alleged violation of the civil rights law.

If it were not that a disappointed suitor is to be allowed considerable latitude, I should think that even Mr. Gazzaway does himself a

great injustice in manifesting any displeasure on that account. For I know the colored people of the State of Ohio, and I know that their intelligence and sense of justice are such that they will not, from the mere fact that I defended a man who was sued by one of their race, believe that I have any lack of friendship for them as a people. I might as well be charged with murder for defending a murderer.

Especially when it is borne in mind that the Rev. Mr. Gazzaway was represented in the case by two colored men, both of whom have testified, and will again, that throughout the case I neither did nor said anything whatever that was, or could be, in the slightest degree, disrespectful or offensive to the colored people. And not only that, but the statement has been correctly made that one of Mr. Gazzaway's attorneys, who was a colored man, had not, previously, to the trial, been admitted to the bar of the United States Court, and that he was admitted upon my motion and recommendation in order that he might assist in the trial of that cause.

I believe I have now fully answered all that your letter calls for. To do so has made it necessary that I should write you at considerable length. Nevertheless, I cannot stop without reminding you that it is *far more important to the colored people that the Republican Party should succeed than it is to the party itself.*

It has been only a few years since Democrats held colored men in slavery; now all are free; only a few years since they would not allow them to testify as witnesses in the courts; now the colored man can sue and maintain his rights there; only a few years since the Democratic Party of Ohio disgraced our statute books with the infamous visible admixture laws—now the statute books are clean; only as long ago as 1867 *the Democratic Party of Ohio declared in its platform that this was a white man's government and that negroes should have no part in it.*

A great change has been wrought, and it is the Republican Party that wrought it. Are the rights that have been thus achieved, secure? Does it make no difference any more to the colored man whether the Democratic or Republican Party succeeds? Look to the South. Words cannot describe the outrages to which colored Republicans are there subjected. We have just seen a Democratic President elected because by violence and fraud the colored people of the South have been robbed of their forty electoral votes. But to learn the feeling of the Democratic Party toward the colored people you do not need to look further than the election of last October in the city of Cincinnati.

The so-called Springer Investigating Committee has been taking testimony that establishes, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind that the Democratic Party, as an organization, acting by its agents, deliberately planned and attempted to perpetrate the outrage of fraudulently carrying that election by arresting, beating and wounding and intimidating colored men and preventing them by wholesale from casting their ballots. In pursuance of this plan they deliberately arrested one hundred and fifty-two citizens of Cincinnati at midnight before the election and imprisoned them in the dungeon of the Hammond Street station house, and kept them there without a bite of bread or a drop

of water, or any charge against them, until after six o'clock in the evening of the day of the election.

A more brutal outrage was never perpetrated north of the Ohio river, and yet no Democrat has condemned it. On the contrary, from the Governor down to the lowest ward politician in their ranks there has been a chuckle of delight because of the success of the infamous scheme. And you will not have to live very long to see among the very first political acts of Mr. Cleveland the granting of a pardon to the man who is now serving out a sentence of imprisonment for having perpetrated this crime.

There is no nomination important enough to induce me to solicit any man's aid for it; neither is there any office low enough for me to understand how it is possible for any colored man to be willing to vote for a Democrat to fill it.

Again thanking you for your kindness, and assuring you of my appreciation of your good wishes and good intentions, I remain

Very truly yours,

J. B. FORAKER.

Later I received a letter from Mr. Huffman, suggesting that my letter to him should be printed and distributed as a campaign document. As further showing my attitude with respect to a renomination, I incorporate here my answer to this letter:

S. E. HUFFMAN, ESQ., February 13, 1885.
Springfield, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—I appreciate very highly your suggestion concerning the distribution of my letter. I can only say with respect to it, however, that I have no objection whatever to such distribution being made, for I have no opinions to conceal from anybody, and am always willing for the whole world to know, if it wants to, any opinions I may entertain. But if such distribution is made, it must be made entirely on the motion of others, as should I do such a thing at this time, it would have the appearance of making me a candidate in an active sense for a renomination.

I am not such, and do not intend to be. On the contrary, I do not want a renomination unless the Republicans of Ohio, with substantial unanimity and of their own free will and accord, desire me to have it.

Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. FORAKER.

I had occasion to write a number of other letters in answer to inquiries as to whether I would become a candidate for renomination. I answered all in effect like the following, which I quote because it was written to Senator

Hanna and because also it shows something of the very cordial relations existing between us at the time:

HON. M. A. HANNA, April 7, 1885.
Cleveland, Ohio.

My Dear Hanna:—Boyle was here yesterday at the election and told me of his visit to Cleveland, about meeting you and the many kind things you saw fit to say of me, particularly of your friendliness with regard to my renomination, and gave me your message in that respect.

I have felt all along as though I should like to write to you on this subject, but I have not done so for the simple reason that I did not want to embarrass any one, especially not my friends, with any suggestions even, concerning the matter. I have felt from the outset that I ought to leave the matter entirely to the Republicans of the State, without any attempt whatever to influence them in any way in my own behalf.

This for a number of reasons. In the first place I would not want that or any other nomination unless the party wanted me to have it; and in the second place, no matter how much I might want the nomination, I should not solicit support for it. In the third place, there has been some indication of a contest in regard to the matter, and I don't want anything of that kind, for while I can fight Democrats, I cannot, and will not, fight Republicans.

For these reasons I have not written to any one, nor even spoken to any one, unless first approached on the subject, and for these same reasons, although I felt differently as to you, I should not have written you but for Mr. Boyle's reports and suggestions, for I want even my friends to feel perfectly free to act upon their own best judgment, without any fear of giving me any offense should that judgment be adverse to me. But since Mr. Boyle has told me what he has, I feel not only free, but that it is my duty to write to you—my duty, particularly to you.

I, perhaps, do not know as much of what the real situation is as you do yourself, yet I have been receiving letters from all over the State. They report here and there some strength for Kennedy or Beatty, or somebody else, but they all indicate that the general drift is in my favor and that I will be renominated without very much opposition.

If I am to be renominated, I hope for the good of the party, as well as my own good, that I may have for the race all the strength that a strong nomination, as nearly unanimous as possible, can give me. For this reason I wish you would be kind enough to report to me occasionally what the appearance of things may be in your part of the State.

I have not been able, as you are doubtless aware, to make you the promised visit. Our failure to do so, however, has been only because it has been impossible for us to get away from home. I got far enough along in the matter of a visit to the New Orleans Exposition to get my railroad fare, sleeping berths, etc., and then at the last moment was compelled to abandon it because of engagements here in the courts that I could not provide for. And so it has been all the winter through;

there has not been a day when I could possibly get away, and now that this political matter is coming on, I do not wish, for obvious reasons, to leave home. If I were to go to Cleveland, my visit, although a purely social one, would be construed to be of a political nature. For these reasons I want to postpone our visit until a nomination has been made. If I should be nominated, I will have occasion to go to Cleveland, during the campaign, no doubt; and if I am not nominated, I will take occasion to go there on a little trip to the lakes. In the meanwhile be assured that we have not abandoned the contemplated pleasure of visiting you, and that I do especially appreciate and feel greatly gratified because of your kind feeling with respect to my renomination.

Very truly yours, etc.,
J. B. Foraker.

I select from many similar letters the following, written to George W. Doughty, a comrade of the 89th Ohio, who was then an inmate of the National Military Home at Dayton. I am unable to find his letter, but my answer sufficiently indicates its character. I wrote him as follows:

Cincinnati, Ohio, May 30, 1885.

Geo. W. Doughty, Esq.,
National Military Home, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—I have your kind letter of the 26th inst. Accept my assurances that I have a proper appreciation for what you have been doing and propose to do in my behalf. I would gladly comply with your request to extend you some aid, as you suggest, if it were not that I have determined that if I am to be nominated at all, it shall be as always heretofore without doing anything whatever personally to bring about such a result, and especially without expending a single cent of money. I know that you would not use any money except in a legitimate way, and aside from the fact that you will use it only in that manner, I would be glad to give it to you on account of old friendship and comradeship, but already in yesterday's newspapers I see the charge that I have emissaries traveling over the State upon money that I have furnished them. That is all false. I have not furnished anybody a cent and do not intend to. Neither have I any emissaries or agents of any kind in my employment anywhere. The truth of the matter is, that I do not want a renomination unless it is the wish of the party to give it to me without my asking for it.

If I should be renominated, it will then be my duty, as well as my pleasure, in behalf of the party, to help along all legitimate work; and in that event, I will be only too glad to give you all the aid I may be able to.

Hoping that you fully appreciate my situation and knowing that you will approve my feeling and determination in regard to the matter in this respect, I remain

Very sincerely yours, etc.,
J. B. Foraker.

Notwithstanding I rigidly adhered to the attitude mentioned in these letters, and, therefore, did nothing whatever with respect to a renomination except to acquiesce in the course of events, the opposition continued, and in some instances grew ugly and vicious.

My silent disregard of it all seemed to stimulate it and to make its aiders and abettors angry and unreasonable. That greatly helped my cause. It enabled those who were friendly and anxious to support me to speak in my behalf with more effect. The result was that, during the last few weeks preceding the holding of the Convention the Republican press of the State fairly teemed with editorials similar to the following from the Dayton *Journal*, which shows the hostile spirit that was aroused, and the effective way in which my friends dealt with it.

The editor of this paper was Major William D. Bickham. He had distinguished himself as a war correspondent and was a prominent and influential Republican. His paper was one of the most influential published in the State. He was an able, virile, aggressive, capable man. Hundreds of other similar quotations might be made from the leading Republican newspapers of the State.

He said:

. . . . . .

We have thought, and still think, that Judge Foraker is the most available man for Governor for reasons that will bear rehearsal every day. He is a pure man of elevated character, of valuable experience in public life; with an untarnished reputation, and proud record as a private soldier, who won his way to the rank of Captain by gallantry on the field of battle and distinguished service as an Aide-de-camp; and who proved his brilliant and solid qualities as a campaigner in the remarkable contest of 1883, during which he made 105 speeches that were notable for their breadth, strength and acuteness, showing a conspicuous familiarity with all the great issues of the day and developing singular felicity in presenting them to the people in the most effective way. No man in Ohio ever before moved to the front with firmer step. Foraker was really a surprise to those who presented him to the convention that nominated him, and what is better, he has sustained the reputation he gained in that campaign and increased it. Of course, his notable career and his manifest availability has challenged the opposition of gentlemen ambitious to be Governor, and he is accordingly the object of sharper criticism than he would be under ordinary

circumstances, but even that benefits him, for he improves upon examination. Besides, he has not thrust himself to the front. He has not asked a man in Ohio to advocate him for nomination. He has not written a line soliciting votes. He has not praised himself or advertised his own merits in voluminous personal letters, but has simply submitted to the discussion that has been going on about candidates without interfering with the reflections of the Republican people to whose judgment he respectfully defers. He is, in short, occupying the honorable position that the office should seek the man, and in that view only has he been before the people. With such a man to lead the campaign, the Republicans will sweep the State. . . .

There has never been a more determined effort to thwart the people by a few ambitious seekers after office than in the anti-Foraker campaign. It was calculated that, as Foraker would neither personally do anything to promote his nomination nor encourage his friends thereto, the matter would go by default and that the opposition might prevail. But the facts prove the power of the people and the popularity of Foraker.

The Convention was held at Springfield on the tenth and eleventh days of June, 1885, in a spacious wigwam constructed for the specific purpose of accommodating it, by the enterprising citizens of that city, on their principal public square. It was beautifully and patriotically decorated with flags and portraits of National Republican leaders, distinguished soldiers of the Civil War and Revolutionary patriots. It gave seating capacity to thousands and contributed largely to make the Convention the largest, most enthusiastic and most impressive State Convention ever until that time held in Ohio. It was attended by most of the leaders and many of the rank and file of the party from all the different counties. They commenced arriving several days before the Convention was to assemble.

The hotels were filled almost beyond accommodations as early as Monday. Faithful and energetic supporters of my opponents were on hand from the beginning, electioneering with the delegates as they arrived, and in many ways creating sentiment in their behalf.

General Kennedy, according to surface indications, was developing most strength.

Some of the delegates and others, who were friendly to me, commenced wiring me on Tuesday of the situation and

that my cause was suffering in consequence of my absence. They appealed to me to come there at once. Stung by some of the attacks made upon me, I had arranged and announced that I would attend the Convention, but that I would not arrive there until the afternoon of Wednesday, the first day of the Convention. They urged me to come earlier. I declined to do so.

I reached Springfield on the special train chartered by the Blaine Club and the Cincinnati delegates and alternates. I quote from the *Commercial Gazette* an account of my arrival and what followed:

Foraker received a glorious greeting when he stepped from the train, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could push his way to the hotel. . . . Calls were made for him. He stepped out on the balcony and was received with rousing cheers.

With no desire to magnify the matter, I must say that I never saw such an outburst of popular enthusiasm at any State Convention as that on the present occasion. When the noise of the band had died away Foraker said:

"*My Fellow Citizens:*—I sincerely thank you for this very kind, cordial and complimentary greeting, and I trust that about this time tomorrow afternoon I may have occasion to thank you again. I have come here, however—and with just this I shall excuse myself for the present—that I might attend this convention and with you help to give expression to the Republicans of the State of Ohio. Whether you will see fit to intrust our party banner again to my hands, or give it to my worthy and esteemed friend, General Kennedy, or to my equally worthy and esteemed friend, General Beatty, or to any one of the gentlemen who have been named in connection with that honor, I pledge you that no man in Ohio will be better satisfied with the result than I shall be (applause); and I say to you also that whether you give it to me or give it to any one of them, the ticket nominated by this convention will have no heartier support from any man than that which I shall give to it from the beginning until the end of the campaign. Who shall receive the nomination is comparatively unimportant, for all the gentlemen who have been named are worthy of the honor. But it is a matter of the highest moment that the campaign which we have come here for the purpose of inaugurating shall be made a triumphant success. (Loud applause.) What we want to do, and upon that I congratulate you, is to keep up from this time until October the enthusiasm with which you have inaugurated this campaign, to the end that when the election has been held there may go out to the rest of the country as the verdict of the Republicans of Ohio, that sort of message which will inspire and give new life

to Republicanism throughout the whole United States of America." (Loud applause.)

It was a manly speech, characteristic of the Judge. . . . At midnight the scenes at Springfield recalled those at Chicago. The crowd is immense and the noise deafening. Bands are marching and serenading, followed by crowds yelling the names of the candidates in the staccato style of the last National Convention.

Later: It is now long after midnight and the bands are marching and speeches and songs continue. The scenes of this convention are upon a scale unequaled by that of any other ever held in the State, or probably in any other State.

On the following day, when that order of business was reached, I was placed in nomination by the Honorable Miller Outcalt, at that time the President of the Young Men's Blaine Club of Cincinnati.

He was then in the prime of a vigorous young manhood, but he had a youthful, almost boyish appearance.

He was handsome and had a pleasing personality, enthusiastic spirit, a good voice and an eloquent tongue. He was a typical representative of the young Republicans of Cincinnati.

He made a speech that abounded in felicitous expressions that pleased the Convention and excited much enthusiasm.

Walter S. Thomas, a young and eloquent representative of the colored voters, followed him in a seconding speech that was well received and did much good because of the refutations he made of the claim of serious defection among the colored voters and the pledges he gave of the support of those for whom he spoke.

No other nominating or seconding speeches were contemplated, but, again quoting from the descriptive account of the Convention as published in the daily press, we have the following:

Cheer after cheer and cry on cry rang through the hall, as, in response to the enthusiastic demand, General E. F. Noyes stepped to the front of the stage. His speech was one of the best of the day and aroused much enthusiasm amongst the delegates from Hamilton County, who jumped to their feet and fairly raised the roof with their continued cheering.

General Noyes' speech was as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:—I have for some years flattered myself that a man may be defeated as a candidate for Governor without any fault of his own. (Laughter.) I beg leave to say that that was emphatically the truth two years ago. It was my good fortune to be with Foraker in his triumphal journey as he went through this State, making more than one hundred speeches in the different counties of the eighty-eight of the State. I beg leave to say here, and call upon all to witness, that no more brilliant campaign has ever been made in this State by any man since the days of old Tom Corwin. (Applause.)

Judge Foraker, the scholar, the able lawyer, the wise and distinguished Judge, the patriotic boy, who, without shoulder straps, put on the blue blouse and, shouldering his musket in the hour of supreme peril, went forth to fight and save the country and the government of the nation. I say his name is an inspiration to the Republican Party of the State. (Applause.)

I have nothing to say against these other gentlemen. They were brave soldiers. They are good men, and, if nominated, I will take off my coat and help elect any one of them, but what I want to say is that there is no name presented who can more inspire the people of this State than that of Foraker. (Applause.)

One word more and I am done. The Legislature next winter is going to elect a Senator as successor to the Honorable John Sherman. Whether it be himself or another, it would be convenient to have the fourteen members of the Legislature from Hamilton County Republican. If you want them elected by eight or nine thousand majority, nominate the soldier, statesman, wise lawyer and splendid fellow, J. B. Foraker. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Outcalt and Thomas were both young men. They spoke as young men. Noyes had been Governor of the State and had been defeated for re-election. He spoke not only on behalf of the older classes of Republicans, but also, and particularly, as a soldier comrade. As heretofore mentioned he had a brilliant army record. He had lost a leg on the Atlanta campaign. He was always eloquent and always effective. His speech on this occasion was particularly so. I quote with respect to it from the daily press as follows:

One of the old-time voices raised like one crying in the wilderness and always pleasant to hear in a Republican gathering was that of Governor Noyes; and every Republican can hear him, though he stand on the outskirts in a crowd of five hundred thousand. General Noyes raised the hair on the boys in the style of the olden days, and created another furore of enthusiasm for Foraker.

With Generals Kennedy and Beatty and Mr. Rose of Cleveland and myself, all duly placed in nomination, the call of the roll was ordered. Four hundred votes were necessary to a nomination. When Trumbull County had voted I had more than that number. There were yet some seven or eight counties to be called, and they were called only because the rules of the Convention so required. The result of the balloting was: Foraker, 465; Kennedy, 158; Beatty, 75; the remainder went to Rose and a few "scattering." The platform adopted by the Convention had been reported by McKinley, who was again the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. It led off with a declaration for a free ballot and a fair count, and it was orthodox throughout. It was adopted by acclamation. After I had been nominated, the usual committee to wait upon the nominee and ask him to appear before the Convention was appointed. Again McKinley was a member of this committee, as he was in 1883. The other members were Col. Robert Harlan and Hon. Allen Miller.

A few minutes later, escorted by them, I appeared in the Convention hall, was presented as the nominee and made a short speech of acceptance.

General Kennedy had developed such a strong following and was recognized as such a loyal, capable Republican, that the Convention turned to him with unanimity for the second place. He was gratified with the compliment involved but was disposed to decline the honor. There was such a call for him that he finally appeared on the platform.

I quote from the daily press the following description of what then occurred:

> General Kennedy then appeared, advancing, it is said, with the determined purpose to decline the honor. While he was waiting for quiet Judge Foraker stepped to his side, touched his arm, and, as he turned, grasped his hand. Nothing can describe the wild excitement that followed upon this graphic scene. When it subsided General Kennedy turned and, addressing the convention, accepted the nomination. He said it was the first time he was ever drafted. When he went to the war he had enrolled, and, entering the service of his own free will, he had stayed until the battle was over. Now he was going into the service again because the convention had asked him to, and said he, "By the eternal, I'll stay until the battle is ended." (Applause.)

Judge Foraker then addressed the Convention, speaking in substance as follows:

If the convention will allow me, I want here and now to ratify the nomination for the Lieutenant Governorship. It is a fact of which General Kennedy may not be aware, but nevertheless a fact, that this is not the first time that he and I have been engaged together in the public service. There was another time, twenty-five years ago, and it was in the First Brigade of the Third Division of the Fourteenth Army Corps. We made a good job of it then, and I believe we shall make a good job of it now. (Applause.)

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1885.

THE campaign that followed was opened at a ratification meeting held in Springfield the evening of the day of the nomination. I spoke almost every day from that time on until the election, and some days two or three times. In this way I covered pretty thoroughly the whole State. Because of the defeat of Mr. Blaine the results of the suppression of the colored vote in the Southern States was brought home to our minds with special emphasis. Had it not been for the solid South Mr. Blaine would have been elected easily without New York and other States, which he lost by small pluralities, and under aggravating circumstances. It was for this reason that the first plank of our platform demanded a free ballot and a fair count, and the discussion of the Southern question was more thorough in the State of Ohio in the campaign of 1885 than it ever had been before. While, therefore, the policy of protection was upheld and discussed and all other national questions then under consideration were dealt with, first place was given to the right of suffrage and the status of the negro. I first spoke at length on this general subject at Wilberforce University a few days after I had been nominated.

I recall this address and the Commencement Day occasion as among the most interesting of all such experiences. The presiding officer was the venerable Bishop Campbell. He had been a slave who was liberated by the Civil War. Many others were present who had similar records in that respect. I never saw a happier audience and but few larger or more appreciative.

After speaking in a general way about the advantages of education and entering a protest against carrying too

far the so-called utilitarian idea according to which a student was to study only those branches that had some reference to his future vocation, as though he knew certainly what that vocation would be, and pointing out that it was not so much the knowledge one acquires as a student from his text books as the discipline and mental development and increase of general intellectual force that are of value, and that nothing was so well calculated in my opinion to strengthen the mind and give one the power of analysis and logical arrangement of thought and argument as a study of the ancient languages, I said:

Well, now, there is one other thing of a special character of which I think. I said the students who graduated here would be citizens. This is so because colored people of this country, from one end to the other, have been made citizens. It was not always so. We once had slavery in this country—and a great crime and burning disgrace it was (loud applause)—slavery that not only held human beings in bondage, but what was infinitely worse, if anything could be worse, deliberately, by legislative enactment and by enforcement of law, undertook to chain and bind its victims in ignorance and degradation as well. (Cries of "Shame!") Yes, a burning shame! It seems incredible to us, in this year of 1885, meeting here under this tabernacle in this beautiful campus, that such a grand old hero, such a distinguished divine as Bishop Campbell—who did me the honor to introduce me—should have been once held in slavery as the property of somebody. (Cries of "Shame!") Shame! Yes, but a more infamous shame that such grand intellects as those of Bishop Campbell and Bishop Turner and these other great men about me here, should be by legislative enactments, under the pains and penalties of imprisonment in the penitentiary, as by the statute books of Georgia and South Carolina and other States it was provided, forbidden to learn their a, b, c's! Do you remember? (A storm of "Yes, yes!") The American people can easily forget, but Bishop Campbell will never forget. ("No, no! Never!") . . . But now, speaking about Georgia, there was once on the statute books of that State not only a law against colored men learning their a, b, c's, but also a joint resolution, I believe it was, adopted by the Legislature, offering a reward of $5,000 for the delivery anywhere within the borders of the State, of that grand old humanitarian, William Lloyd Garrison. (Hisses.) Not only that, but Georgia, and probably all the other slave States, forbade by law the ordinance of baptism and the ordinance of marriage. As to slaves, they would not allow colored men to get an education while they lived, and manifestly did not want them to go to heaven when they died. (Great laughter and applause.) Well, they are going to heaven all the same. (Renewed laughter, and cries of "That's so!")

Why do I refer to these things? I do so in order that I may supplement the reference with this statement: That it is no wonder that the colored people of the South, having been held in bondage for 250 years, and having been so degraded and debased, should be in the condition they are today; it is no wonder that only about twenty-five per cent. of them can read and write. Think of it, my colored friends—seventy-five per cent. of the six millions of your race, all American citizens, unable to read or write! What a grand field it is for Wilberforce University to work in! What a grand inspiration for an institution that comes up to the measure set by George Washington—knowledge and morality! Go on with your grand work! (Voices, "We'll do it!")

. . . . . .

I have already spoken of some things that ought to suggest great encouragement to you—great encouragement because of the change of sentiment which they indicate in your favor. Slavery being abolished, the people of the South themselves have come to see the day when they would not have it restored for anything you could name. Slavery abolished, and the people of the South glad of it! There is a march of progress! We want that march to go on. You have that improved public sentiment down there to encourage you, and you have got improved public sentiment at home to encourage you. Do you remember, my fellow citizens, that for forty-five years—from 1805 to 1850—we had on the statute books of Ohio a blot and disgrace known as the "Black Laws of Ohio"? I expect you have forgotten what the black laws were. Well, some of you haven't, for I see you shaking your heads. Let me tell these young people what they were. The "Black Laws" were statutes which, among other things, forbade any colored man to testify in any case in court in which a white man was a party. Not only that, but these black laws provided that no white man should hire a colored man to do a day's work, or any part of a day's work, unless the colored man would first enter into a bond in the sum of $500, to be filed in the court house, with approved security, that he would keep the peace and would not be a public charge. That was encouraging labor, you know. (Laughter.) I remember hearing of a case that happened in the part of the State, where I lived, where a poor colored man traveling along the road, wearied and worn out, applied at a farmer's house for his dinner, offering to chop enough wood to pay for it. The farmer accepted the proposition and the colored man got his dinner and chopped enough wood to pay for it. I should explain that the black laws provided that the penalty for a violation of them by a white man should be a fine of $100, half of which should be paid to the informer to insure prosecution. And that old farmer was promptly arrested and duly prosecuted for a violation of the laws of the great State of Ohio. Now I say, it seems incredible that there could have been a public sentiment in Ohio of which such infamous laws were the reflection. And yet all these old men around me remember these laws. But they're all swept away now. They're swept away forever, swept away to the credit of the people of Ohio and to the credit of the age in which we live, swept

away never to come again! There is encouragement in that fact for you.

And now, my friends, if I were not a candidate, and if this were not a non-political occasion, I would go on and point out to you something else by way of encouragement as an indication of change of public sentiment in Ohio in favor of the colored man. I would like to read you some resolutions of one of the great political parties of Ohio with respect to the rights of the colored man. I am not going to tell you to which political party I refer. (Laughter.) I am not going to let anybody say that I came here and made a political speech—but I will say that it was not my party. They commenced "resoluting" about this thing away back in 1858, and they kept it up until 1875. They resolved, among other things, that slavery in the first place ought not to be abolished, because the result of that would be to increase the number of free blacks in Ohio, and that if such a thing should come to pass, they resolved it would be "an unbearable nuisance." That is their language—"an unbearable nuisance,"—to have free black people in the State of Ohio.

They resolved, also, after the war, that this was a white man's government, and that colored men should not be allowed to have any part or parcel in it. Now did you ever hear anything more barbarous than that? But that, too, is all passed away. The people who passed such resolutions ten and fifteen years ago are all dead, I guess. At least they are not any more proclaiming such inhuman sentiments. There has been progress in Ohio. Any party that would declare for any such infamous doctrine in Ohio today would have no more chance of carrying the State than a certain party I know of has of carrying it this year. And that party has no chance at all. And the party I refer to now is not my party either. (Laughter.)

. . . . . .

A race that can produce such men as Fred Douglass, Dr. Derrick, Bishop Campbell, Bishop Payne, Bishop Turner and such men as our worthy friend, Brother Arnett, who is to be the next Representative in the Legislature from this county (loud applause), and a gloriously good one he will be—he will be loyal, I warrant you, to all of the highest and best interests of the State and of the colored and also of the white people—a race, I say, that can produce such men as these, men of such intellect, men of such character, is deserving of the highest encouragement and must be successful and triumphant in all it undertakes. (Applause.)

The right of suffrage was put to the front in our platform and in the campaign, not only because of its nature and the outrages that had been perpetrated in the South, but also because of similar outrages then recently perpetrated in Ohio, especially at the national election of 1884, when 152 colored voters of Cincinnati were arrested the night before election, thrown into prison and kept there

without allowing them to communicate with anybody and without a mouthful of food or a drink of water in the meanwhile until after the polls were closed on the evening of election day.

The police officer under whose management this outrage was committed was indicted, prosecuted and imprisoned for the offense. It was of such a bold and inexcusable character that it gave an impetus to the discussion of the right of suffrage greater than had ever before been known. It brought home to the voters of Ohio as never before the fact that to deprive the colored voters of the South of their right of suffrage meant Democratic domination for the nation, including Ohio and all the Northern States, as well as the States of the South. It was not only in order, therefore, to discuss this question, but there was a universal demand that we should discuss it.

Our Democratic friends had made no answer except only to charge that we were waving the "bloody shirt," as though it was a crime to refer to this most hideous of crimes. I answered that the shirt was undoubtedly bloody, but that the Democratic hoodlums and thugs of the South had made it so, and that if we were to have law and order and the protection of American citizens in the enjoyment of their rights, we must defend those rights by protesting against and finding some way to prevent the repetition of such outrages. I made no apology for discussing the subject. As a sample of what I said I quote from a speech made at Bellefontaine as follows:

> . . . The party of today believes that if the party of twenty years ago did right in giving to the colored people of the South the right to vote, it is the duty of the people of this country today to give them protection in the exercise of that right. (Applause.) And hence it is that, standing at the head of the resolutions adopted by the Springfield Convention is the declaration that the right to vote is a sacred right—that it must be protected and guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws, and that every man who has the right to vote must be accorded that right, free from all violence, fraud or intimidation, and that his ballot when cast must be counted as cast. (Applause.) The platform goes further than that, and says that if under the Constitution and the laws as now existing, it is not possible so to protect the right of suffrage, then the Constitution and the laws must be made

so that the protection can be given. (Applause.) Why, my friends, in other words, to the Republican Party it is an infamous idea that the general government should have the right, as it unquestionably has, to cross over the lines of the States and draft you into its military service, compelling you to go out and stand up for the flag on the field of battle, and that when you have done this at the peril of your life and are mustered out and have returned home within your State, those State lines so easily crossed in one case should rise up so high about you that the general government that drafted you can not cross over them to protect you in the enjoyment of your rights. (Loud applause.) We believe that a government that cannot defend its defenders and protect its protectors has something the matter with it. (Loud applause.) We intend to find out what that something is and mend it. We had a great contest in this country to establish these rights; it may be we have entered upon another long contest, but it is one in which we are bound to triumph. Sooner or later we shall surely secure the enforcement of these rights throughout the country. Now why do I talk like this? Why do I say anything about the right of people down South to vote? There are a great many people North, there are a great many newspapers here who, when they hear you talking about interference with the right of suffrage down yonder, dismiss the whole matter by saying, "That is waving the bloody shirt." Well, now if so, then let us talk a little about the bloody shirt.

Heretofore we have been electing our Presidents and Vice Presidents each time for twenty-four years. Heretofore we have had nothing to do—as hereafter we will not have—with the local State elections in the South, and inasmuch as the national result has been favorable to us anyhow, we have slipped along, paying very little attention to what was going on down there. But at last, by last year's election, we have forced upon us in a way we can understand and appreciate, the effect of the fact that when a man deposits his ballot in Mississippi, or Georgia, or any other State in this nation for President, he is voting not alone for himself and the people of his State, but he is voting for the people of the State of Ohio; and when a man goes to the ballot-box with a shotgun to keep somebody from putting his ballot in the box, he is interfering with the expression of the people that affects not only the citizens of his own State, but the citizens of Ohio as well. In other words, in the language of our platform, as adopted at Springfield, we have been taught that the right to vote is a right that concerns the whole people of this entire country. (Applause.) It is our matter. It is our affair. It is our concern what they do down there, as well as their concern what we do up here. Now what the Republican Party wants is of course that everybody will vote our principles, if they can make up their minds freely, willingly, so to do; but the Republican Party does not want to force anybody to vote our principles. If the colored or the white people of the South want to vote the Democratic ticket as a matter of preference, as a matter of free will or choice, the Republican Party has not one word to say. But what the Republican Party does say is that every man shall have the right to vote just as to him is his choice in that matter. (Loud applause.)

And now we are talking about this because it is an open fact, an unquestioned fact, that at the last election, the one that made Grover Cleveland President of the United States, there were forty electoral votes from the Southern States supposed to represent the Republicans of the South that were not cast, as they ought to have been cast, for James G. Blaine, but by fraud and violence were diverted from the course in which those they represented wanted them to be cast, and were made to support the Democratic Party. Now I might enter into an argument here and make a statement of facts to establish that out of my own mouth. But I want to do that out of somebody else's mouth, and above all things, I want to do it by the highest Democratic authority there is in the United States, so that my Democratic friends can not complain, and that is Grover Cleveland. Now I haven't any abuse for Mr. Cleveland. He is the President of the United States, whether rightfully or wrongfully, no matter now, and he is entitled to our loyalty and allegiance as President, and we will give it to him, unlike in that respect the action of some people when Abraham Lincoln was elected in 1860. (Applause.) I have not any fault to find so far with Grover Cleveland, neither have I any special praise to bestow upon him. (Laughter.) I think he is just about such a Democratic President as I expected him to be. A great many people are finding fault with him, because he has been appointing rebels to place and profit—rebels in the Cabinet, rebels in high official positions at home and abroad, and rebels to represent the U. S. Government at the courts of Europe. I don't like that any better than anybody else; but what right have people to find fault with Grover Cleveland for that? Would anybody expect Grover Cleveland to appoint Republicans to such positions? But if he must appoint them solely from the ranks of the Democratic Party, how could he help appointing at least a few rebels? (Laughter.) But what I want to call your attention to is this: That out of the mouth of this good man, whom our Democratic friends have made President, I will prove that this state of fraud and violence does exist; and I suppose that Mr. Cleveland has the confidence of our Democratic friends up here. I am not sure that he has in Cincinnati, however (laughter), for a day or two ago when he had appointed Mr. Urner to be U. S. marshal in the place of Lot Wright, I was talking with a distinguished Democratic politician down there and I asked him what he thought of the President. "Well," he said, "I wish you had not asked me that so soon." I said, "Why?" "Well," he answered, "I have not fairly made up my mind further than this. I know that we caught the animal, but what it is I do not know!" (Great applause.) But I take it that President Cleveland is good authority for a Republican or a Democrat to quote with respect to this matter of the bloody shirt. Now I want to prove from him that there is this kind of outrage in the South which deprives people of the right to vote.

You may have read within the last few days of the fact that recently there was appointed to be postmaster at Hazlehurst, Copiah County, Miss., a man by the name of Meade; and that shortly after he had been appointed and before his commission had been issued to him, President Cleveland ordered the commission to be withheld until he could examine into the character of Mr. Meade; and then you may have

read that after he had completed that examination he refused to issue him the commission, saying that he felt it to be his duty in appointing Democrats to office to draw the line somewhere, and he had concluded to *draw it at murder.* (Applause.) That was his expression. He could appoint almost any kind of a man to office, no matter what he had done, until it came to murder, and there he must draw the line. (Laughter and applause.)

Well, what did he mean when he used that significant language? He went on to tell us. He said somebody had told him that Meade had been connected with the killing of somebody in Copiah County, Mississippi, and that he had examined into the records to find out what the facts were, and he had found out that two years ago a man by the name of Print Matthews had been killed at the ballot box at Copiah County, Miss., and that Print Matthews was a white man; that he was born and raised there; that he was a man of property and education and culture; that he was a man of family, wife and children; that his brothers were about him; that he was a man who in every way enjoyed the confidence and respect of his fellow citizens outside of politics, but that in politics he was a Republican, an ardent Republican. If the statement had not been made that he was born and raised in Copiah County, I would have believed he had been born and raised in Springfield, Ohio. (Laughter.)

But he had been active in politics. He had kept the colored voters of that county organized; he had kept the white Republicans in line; he had insisted successfully that every man who had the right to vote should have his ballot honestly counted; and the result was that the county was continually going differently in politics from what our Democratic friends wanted it; and so they made up their minds that they would dispose of him. All this Cleveland found out. Accordingly the Democratic leaders met in caucus and determined what should be done with that bad Republican, Print Matthews. He went to Sunday-school, too; another objection. And they determined that Print Matthews should stop voting; that he should not have anything more to do with politics. And so they appointed a committee to go and notify him the night before the election that on the following day he must not vote, and that if he did he would do so at the peril of his life. These neighbors of Print Matthews rode down to his home and called him out from the bosom of his family in the dark, and told him what they had resolved to do. Print Matthews could not believe it possible that they contemplated any such horrible barbarity. And so the next morning, as was his custom, he was at the polls before six o'clock. And when six o'clock came he was one of the first men to step up to the ballot box and cast his ballot, and as he stepped back from the box a man by the name of Wheeler came out of his hiding place, drew a double barrelled shotgun and shot him dead. Up here we would hang a man for that and do it quickly, but down there they held a ratification meeting. They rang the bells for joy and called the whole town together in the city hall, and they elected this man Meade chairman. Now you begin to see what Cleveland was after. That meeting passed resolutions approving what Wheeler had done in shooting Matthews, and warning all the balance of the Matthews family to keep out of politics under penalty of a like fate. They also afterward made Wheeler

marshal of the town as a reward for shooting that man, and they made a hero of him all over Mississippi. As a reward for Meade they recommended him for postmaster. Cleveland had ordered him appointed, when somebody gave him an inkling of the shooting matter, and then it was that Cleveland investigated that matter, and said that he must draw the line at murder, and that he could not put such a man in office.

Well now, that suggests two things to me. As I said awhile ago, we have it out of the mouth of the highest Democratic authority in this country, that there is that kind of violence and outrage on the ballot. But it suggests a still more significant thing. If it was right for President Cleveland to refuse to commission Mr. Meade postmaster at Hazlehurst, because he had helped to outrage the ballot, whereby Mr. Cleveland had been given the solid South and made President, is it not right also for Mr. Cleveland to resign his office to somebody else? (Laughter and applause.) Don't you think that consistency would require him to refuse to enjoy the usufruct of such outrage? How can he give countenance to Mr. Lamar, who held his seat in the U. S. Senate as successor to Blanche K. Bruce simply because the Republican State of Mississippi was made a Democratic State by such methods? Well, now, I don't expect that Mr. Cleveland will resign. I have a high opinion of him, but I don't quite come up to that. But I tell you what I do expect and what we had better do about it. I expect that the people of this country will determine to give proper appreciation and attention to this matter, and as a result we will determine that in 1888 we will turn Mr. Cleveland out. We will turn him out, and turn out the whole Democratic Party with him. Let anybody be President, let anybody hold any office that the people may see fit to elect him to. It is not a personal matter, of any importance, who is President of the United States. It is no great matter who holds the post-office in Hazlehurst, Miss., except to the one man appointed; nor is it an important matter who holds the post-office at Bellefontaine, but it is a matter of the highest importance to the whole American people that there shall be a free ballot and a fair count. (Enthusiastic applause.) It is of the highest importance that human liberty and human rights, when established by such bloody triumphs as we have had to go through, shall not be trampled in the dust in defiance of law and order. (Loud applause.)

In addition to national questions, we had State issues to deal with of grave importance. Governor Hoadly was in the second year of his administration. The whole State felt outraged, Democrats as well as Republicans, because of the scandalous stories of bribery and corruption connected with the election of Henry B. Payne to the United States Senate. The finances of the State had been unfortunately managed. Grossly extravagant appropriations had been made and by the decision rendered by the three Democratic judges, constituting a majority of the Supreme Court,

invalidating the Scott law, a revenue of two millions of dollars, derived from the taxation of the liquor traffic, had been destroyed. All these questions were elaborately debated throughout the campaign, which grew more earnest and exciting with every meeting that was held.

Challenge for a Joint Debate.

Two or three weeks before the election, while speaking at Bellevue, in the northwestern part of the State, I was interrupted by a gentleman who said he desired to ask me some questions. He proceeded to propound a number, one after another. They were all apparently carefully framed. I at once suspected that my inquisitor was a representative of my antagonist, or the State Democratic Committee, carrying out a pre-arranged plan. I answered him, however, patiently and fully.

I was similarly interrupted the next day at Defiance, and again so interrupted the following day while speaking at Paulding. In the meantime I had received information from the Chairman of the Republican State Committee, that a carefully considered program had been agreed upon by the Democratic State Committee, according to which some one was to be selected at each place where I was to speak, who was to propound to me a set of questions, all prepared at Democratic headquarters, with the knowledge and approval of Governor Hoadly, and that Democratic newspaper reporters had been appointed to attend my meetings with a view to exploiting the questions and making all the capital possible out of my answers. All these questions had reference to the subject of temperance. I was also furnished with a copy of the questions to be asked at Paulding.

I expected, therefore, to be interrupted in the course of my remarks, but had finished my speech, including a discussion of the liquor question, and was just taking my seat, when a Mr. Cramer called out to me from the audience, saying that he had some questions, that he proceeded to ask, which he would be glad to have me answer if I had no objection.

I quote from the daily press as to what followed:

Judge Foraker at once invited him (Mr. Cramer) to come forward to the platform, or at least nearer to it, so all could plainly see and hear what his answer should be. This Mr. Cramer declined to do. Thereupon Judge Foraker asked him if he would be kind enough to tell him where he got the questions which he had propounded to him. Mr. Cramer at once took his seat under cover of an umbrella that happened to be conveniently raised in front of him. Judge Foraker asked him to stand up and answer where he had got the questions he had submitted. Mr. Cramer declined to do so. Thereupon Judge Foraker requested the lady who had the umbrella to please move from in front of Mr. Cramer, so that he could see and be seen, which she accordingly did. When Judge Foraker again asked him to be kind enough to stand up and tell the audience from whom he had got the questions, Mr. Cramer still declined to do so. By this time he began to look as though he wished he was in any other place than there, but he was effectually surrounded by a large audience, who had gathered as closely as possible to hear what was coming. Still refusing to say where he had got the questions, Judge Foraker then asked him if it was not true that the questions had been furnished him by the Democratic State Committee, and if he had not propounded them at their request. For a while he remained silent, but Judge Foraker, pressing the question and demanding an answer, he finally admitted that they had been furnished him by the Democratic State Committee, and that he had presented them at their request. Judge Foraker then asked him if it was not also true to his knowledge that the questions had been written by Governor Hoadly himself, and if the whole plan of having them presented and answered was not at the suggestion of Governor Hoadly and in his interest. This, also, Mr. Cramer finally admitted. Judge Foraker then asked him if the questions had not been furnished him in writing and been committed to memory by him. This also Mr. Cramer finally reluctantly admitted. Thereupon Judge Foraker drew from his pocket a paper, and asked Mr. Cramer to listen while he read from it and call his attention to any differences he might discover as he read between the questions he had propounded orally and those that the Judge should read. The Judge thereupon read from his paper precisely the same questions, in the same order and in the exact words, as Mr. Cramer admitted. The Judge thereupon stated that he had recently received a letter from Columbus, informing him that Governor Hoadly and a number of other gentlemen had, in consultation, agreed to have a man secretly follow him (Foraker) and at his meetings secure some Prohibitionist to ask him a number of questions, among which were the ones in question. The Judge said he recognized every man's right to ask him any questions he might desire to ask, pertaining to the political issues of the campaign, and he had frankly and fairly answered all such questions. At Bellevue on Wednesday night, certain questions were asked of him, and he had answered them fully and frankly, but he had read in the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

a garbled report that tried to make it appear that he had not done so. He said that also at Defiance yesterday he was similarly interrogated, and he had been told that an entirely false statement had been telegraphed to the *Enquirer* and other Democratic papers as to what had been said; that by this experience he had been convinced that it was impossible to both fairly answer and be fairly reported. For that reason he felt it to be his duty to do what otherwise he should not have done, and that was to take notice of Governor Hoadly's connection with the whole matter. He had intended to pay no attention to Judge Hoadly in connection with the matter, because he disliked to act upon what he regarded as so unworthy of one holding the high position of dignity and honor that is held by his opponent, saying he meant by that that he disliked to think that Judge Hoadly would resort to such methods of political warfare, but inasmuch as nothing else seemed to answer, he would say to Mr. Cramer as a Democrat, and to all others who might be present, whether Democrats or Prohibitionists, that he would answer the questions not as coming from Mr. Cramer, a Prohibitionist, but from Governor Hoadly, the Democratic candidate for re-election.

He thereupon answered the questions fully and fairly, stating that his position was that of his party, as defined in its platform, and as he had everywhere expressed himself heretofore, and saying also that the letter of Chairman Bushnell expressed exactly, as he understood it, the position of the Republican Party, and that he knew of nothing inconsistent therewith that had been said by Senator Sherman. He thereupon said further:

> "I want to say now to Judge Hoadly, as well as to this audience, that I am ready to answer any questions that anybody, particularly Judge Hoadly, may want to propound, but that I do not believe in questions and answers at long range that lead to misunderstandings and misrepresentations. I therefore invite Governor Hoadly to meet me on the same platform and ask me any and all questions he may desire to ask, and not only invite him, but I here and now challenge him to meet me anywhere in the State of Ohio at such time or times as our respective State Committees may agree upon, to discuss all the questions involved in this contest. I desire that there may be no misunderstanding about this matter. I therefore place no limitation on my challenge, except only that our discussion may be had prior to the election. I shall immediately telegraph the Republican Committee accordingly, and have them communicate to Judge Hoadly, either directly or through his committee, what I have said."

It is useless to undertake to describe the bursts of enthusiasm and applause with which the vast audience greeted almost every utterance of Judge Foraker from the beginning to the end of the scenes that followed Mr. Cramer's interruption. When Judge Foraker had ceased to speak the whole audience, men, women and children, rushed with one accord to the platform, seized him, shook hands with him, pulled and hauled him in every direction for almost an hour so anxious and so

enthusiastic were they in their efforts to show their appreciation for him and what he had said. No such scene has ever before been witnessed here, and no such supreme contempt has ever been excited for anybody as that which everybody entertains for Mr. Cramer. No language can describe the sneaking, humiliating and cowardly appearance and conduct of Cramer as, under the burning words of Judge Foraker, his false pretense and hypocrisy were laid open amid the cheers and demonstrations of the immense crowd that hemmed him in on every side and made escape impossible.

Later: Judge Foraker is receiving a regular ovation this evening by the people of Paulding Center, at the residence of Major Holcomb, and the town is wild with excitement.

I was extremely fortunate in having as Chairman of the Republican State Committee in the campaign of 1885, the Honorable Asa S. Bushnell, afterward Governor. He was a business man of large and very successful experience. He had a strong intellectual endowment and a generous heart. He was a thoroughly loyal Republican. He had never before taken any part in politics outside of his own county and congressional district, but he, in common with all Republicans of Ohio, felt that the national election of the year before was a great misfortune to the country and that it was our highest duty to retrieve what had been lost. Accordingly, his whole heart and soul were enlisted in this fight. He kept constantly in touch with me and kept me fully informed. He was a wise counsellor. On the other hand, I kept him fully informed not only of what was actually occurring, but also as to what was passing through my mind. He knew it was my purpose to challenge Governor Hoadly to a joint debate, not only because of the manner in which I was being interrogated and then incorrectly reported, but also because Governor Hoadly had said in one of his speeches that I had on the temperance question one speech for Oberlin, a prohibition community, and an entirely different speech for the "over-the-Rhine" Germans of Cincinnati. When, therefore, I informed him that I had given the challenge contemplated, he at once opened correspondence on the subject with General Thomas E. Powell, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee. Quite a number of letters passed between them, due to the fact that General Powell, Chairman of the Democratic

Committee, insisted on inviting Dr. A. B. Leonard, the Prohibition candidate, to participate in the debate, and to the further fact that General Bushnell insisted that one of the debates should be at Oberlin and the other at Cincinnati. It was finally agreed, however, that there should be two debates, one at Wheeler's Opera House, in Toledo, October 8, 1885, and the other at Music Hall, Cincinnati, Saturday evening, October 10th.

It was further agreed that Governor Hoadly should have an hour in which to open the debate at Toledo and that I should have an hour and a half in which to answer, and he should have half an hour in which to reply; that the order should be reversed at Cincinnati. The election was to occur on the next Tuesday following the debate, October 13, 1885. The campaign that had been stirring throughout and which was from day to day exciting more and more interest, was given a stimulus by this proposed debate that it would be hard to exaggerate. Long before the hour named for the discussion to commence the Opera House at Toledo was filled almost to suffocation. Democrats and Republicans alike were present from all over the State. Hundreds could not get nearer to where the speaking occurred than the street in front of the Opera House. These features of the debate were duplicated at Cincinnati. No such throngs of people were ever crowded into Music Hall as were present to hear the debate on October 10th. Every available space,—in the aisles, in the galleries, on the stage and in the lobbies leading to the hall—was crowded with enthusiastic, shouting, demonstrative men and women of both parties.

In his opening speech at Toledo Governor Hoadly undertook to turn the debate into a discussion of the relative merits of prohibition, which he vigorously opposed, and the license system, which he championed. I answered him as best I could, not only as to these questions, but as to the many other questions that had arisen during the campaign. But all he said and all that I said in these respects was forgotten in a day because of two things that unexpectedly cropped out in the debate which took entire possession of the minds

of the people present and of the people throughout the State who read in the morning papers an account of the meeting.

In the course of his remarks Governor Hoadly spoke of a visit which he had recently made to Glandorf in Putnam County, which he termed a model village. He told how the people of that village, after going to church in the morning, met in a social way and sipped their beer and wine to the great advantage, as he claimed, of all concerned. He concluded his account of this model village by saying there was not a single Republican voter in the entire village.

I had never before heard of the village of Glandorf, but a few minutes after he had mentioned it a gentleman in the audience sent me a note, stating that he had lived for eighteen years at Ottawa, the county seat of Putnam County, within one mile of Glandorf, and that there was more drunkenness in Glandorf than in any other village of its size in Ohio, and that it was notorious for petty crimes.

I commenced by using this note to good advantage in answering what the Governor had said about his "model village." After reading it, I said, "Now, my fellow citizens, you doubtless know why it is that there is no Republican in Glandorf." The applause with which this note and my statement were received was fittingly described as "tremendous, long-continued and over and over again renewed."

The other feature of the meeting that is even yet well remembered, was an effort on his part to anticipate the charge, if I should see fit to make it, that he had himself been a Republican when most of the things for which he was finding fault with the Republican Party had been done. He sought to defend his action in leaving the party by citing the fact that other men, distinguished as Republicans, had become Democrats. His language in this respect was:

> . . . My friends, it will be told you tonight that I was a Republican. I was; thank God. I was, and thank God, also, that when the time came, and that party had fulfilled its mission, and had no longer

any call to live, except the call to induct its members into office, I, who cared nothing for office, had the grace to leave that party. (Applause.)

I can not speak from personal observation of these recent years of the Republican Party, but in the days when Salmon P. Chase, who died a Democrat, and Abraham Lincoln, who died a Democrat, and Chas. Sumner, whose last wish was that the emblems of victory should be removed from our flag, and Horace Greeley, who died a Democrat, and a thousand other leaders of the Republican Party who came within the fold of the Democratic Party before they died, were the leaders of that party, that party would never go before the people and present itself for their favor, dodging an important issue.

After disposing of the Glandorf statement, I then called attention to the fact that Governor Hoadly had made so many mistakes in his public statements that it had become a common remark, "That is another of Hoadly's mistakes." I then told the audience that his statement that Lincoln had died a Democrat was not true; it was only another of "Hoadly's mistakes;" that I felt it my duty as it was my great pleasure to tell him that Lincoln had not died a Democrat, but only by the *hand* of a Democrat. The applause and cheers and uproarious demonstrations with which this statement was received almost broke up the meeting. It was a long time before the audience could be quieted down so that I could proceed with my speech.

When Governor Hoadly came to reply he said:

I am sorry the Judge (referring to me) is growing deaf. I wish he were not; but not a man in this audience heard me say Mr. Lincoln died a Democrat. (Hisses and cries of "Oh, yes, oh, yes.") No, sir, not one. (Renewed cries of "Yes, yes," and hisses.) Not one. (Cries of "Yes, yes.") But I tell you what I will say. (Hisses and cries of "Dodged again.") I will say this (voice, "Nixie!") that if Abraham Lincoln had lived six months longer he would have been driven out of his party as Seward was. (Renewed hisses.) Keep still, my friends; do not be angry because the men hissed. It don't disturb me any. I know what I am about. I am not going to lose my temper or my presence of mind. If Abraham Lincoln had not died when he did, he would have been driven out of his party. History records that his scheme of reconstruction was identical with the one for adopting which Andrew Johnson was driven from the Republican Party. (Applause.)

When Judge Hoadly came to answer me at Cincinnati he commenced his remarks by saying:

My friends, . . . you have heard much of Hoadly's mistakes. I made one at Toledo. Intending there to say that William H. Seward

died a Democrat, inadvertently and without my knowledge, a moment later, or at the time, I used the name of Abraham Lincoln. When called on afterward, I denied it in perfect good faith, but the consummate art of the stenographer has convinced me that I was wrong; that I did make the mistake; but I desire now, through the reporters here present, to apologize to my Toledo audience and to Judge Foraker for calling his statement and their contradiction in question. I undoubtedly made the mistake. (A voice: "Bravo!")

The Glandorf incident in the Toledo debate evidently troubled him somewhat; at least I judged so from the fact that, further along in his Cincinnati speech he said, referring to his remarks about Glandorf:

I have been in another model town since then. I have been in Auglaize County, a county that gave me 2,122 majority, and where the people are only uneasy for fear they may not get rid of that 1 and get another 2 in, so as to make it 2,222. (Laughter and applause.) In that county is Jackson township, which gave me 444 votes, and Judge Foraker 9 votes. (Laughter.) In that township there are just as many saloons as there are Republicans, one apiece; nine saloons. (Laughter and cheers.) In that township is the village of Minster, with a population, in 1883, of 1,123. Now, with 444 Democrats to 9 Republicans, with nine saloons, how many legal prosecutions do you suppose have been necessary to keep the peace in Jackson township and Minster village during the last three years? Just one. Just one. (Cheers.) And that one assault and battery, committed within the last thirty days by a woman that had just moved into the township. (Laughter and cheers.) Do those people need any law, any Scott law, any Pond law, any prohibitory law, any Smith law, to keep them in order? No. They are self-controlling, self-mastered, Democratic people. (Applause.)

I make this statement on the authority of the prosecuting attorney of Auglaize County, over whose books I went this morning before I left Wapakoneta, to verify the facts. That is the kind of villages and townships we need in Ohio. We don't need prohibitory laws.

I quote from my reply as follows:

Governor Hoadly commenced by admitting and explaining a mistake. He said that at Toledo he had made the mistake of saying that Lincoln had died a Democrat. He wanted to correct that by telling us that he did not mean Lincoln, but he meant to say that Seward had died a Democrat. Let me say, in answer to Governor Hoadly, that he is just as much mistaken when he says Seward died a Democrat as when he said that Lincoln died a Democrat. (Great and prolonged applause and cheers.) I want to say, however, more than that, as to the mistake which he has corrected. He not only made a mistake in saying that Seward died a Democrat, but doubtless he made the mistake from

the same cause that probably induced him to make the other mistake which he was endeavoring to explain; for, as it was with Lincoln, so, too, with Seward, while one Democrat was killing Lincoln another was trying to kill William H. Seward. (Cheers and great applause.)

As to what he said about Jackson Township, in Auglaize County, I quote from my answer as follows:

Now, I want to correct another mistake. The Governor gave us, at Toledo, an account of a model village by the name of Glandorf. He has now given us an account of a model township in Auglaize County. He has told us of a township that gave him 444 votes, and gave me only 9; a township in which there are nine saloons and the people of which have a great many virtues, of which he has told us. I want to tell the Governor that I was in Auglaize County two years ago, during my canvass of that year, and I heard of that township. They told me it was the stronghold of Democracy, and they told me this, also, of it: that while it had the saloons and the Democratic majority he speaks of, yet it also had in the whole township not a single, solitary schoolhouse. (Long continued applause.) Now, one other thing. I have had a note sent up to me from the audience. Judge Hoadly told us there was no disorder or violation of law in that township. A gentleman has sent me from the audience the following—a man who lives there and who knows more about it than the Governor could learn by stopping off for only half an hour, to examine the books. The note is as follows: "There is more drunkenness in Jackson township, Auglaize County, and more disorder, and the records of criminal prosecutions in the last ten years will show more violations of law than any other township in the county." (Tremendous applause and a voice: "Tell us whose name is signed to it.") T. W. Brotherton. (The same voice: "There is no such man living in that county.") Theodore W. Brotherton is as high-minded and reputable a man as lives in the State of Ohio, and that he is such, and that he does live there, I can prove by Governor Hoadly himself. (Applause.) Now, like conditions always give like results. That is the kind of place to which we look for Democrats. (Great applause.)

These debates were reported in full and have been published as a separate document. There were other features of them that might, with propriety, be specially mentioned, but at this late date it is sufficient to say that the points mentioned were those that seemed to fasten themselves on the minds of the people and to create an impression so favorable to myself and my candidacy as to help my cause very greatly at the election a few days later. The vote was: For Hoadly, 341,830, Foraker, 359,281; Leonard, 28,081; Northrop, 2,001; my plurality, 18,451.

I closed my Inaugural Address January 11, 1886, with the following:

Governor Hoadly, always kind and generous, was never more so than he has been to his successor. It would be a pleasure to thank him for this under any circumstances, but it is especially so when it is recalled that notwithstanding we have opposed each other in two heated political contests, not a single unkind or offensive word has yet been uttered by either of the other. The friendship of years seems to have been made only the stronger by the tests to which it has been subjected, and no one more earnestly than I entertains the hope that there are in store for my distinguished predecessor many years of life, health and happiness to be spent in wider fields of usefulness and honor than any he has heretofore occupied.

CHAPTER XVII.

1886

MY FIRST YEAR AS GOVERNOR.

I WAS inaugurated on the eleventh day of January, 1886. It happened to be the coldest day of the winter,—11 degrees below zero,—thus verifying the statement made by Governor Hoadly in one of his speeches that "it would be a cold day when Foraker was inaugurated." He meant, of course, that I would not be inaugurated at all, but his prediction, accepted according to the language used, was literally true. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, thousands were present to witness the ceremony.

My first official action was to appoint a private secretary and his assistants, an Adjutant General and a military staff. For my private secretary I appointed the Honorable Charles L. Kurtz, and for his assistants, Mr. Charles E. Prior and Mr. George A. Beaton, both capable, efficient, reliable men, who performed their duties faithfully and creditably under all circumstances.

I had become acquainted with Mr. Kurtz at the Chicago Convention, where he appeared as Senator Sherman's special representative, and where he worked very faithfully with Mr. Hanna and myself, winning the good opinion and warm friendship of both of us. In 1885 he was secretary of the campaign committee, in which position his labors were tireless and very useful. In this position he was the co-laborer of General Bushnell, who was the chairman of the committee. This co-operation made them close and lifelong friends.

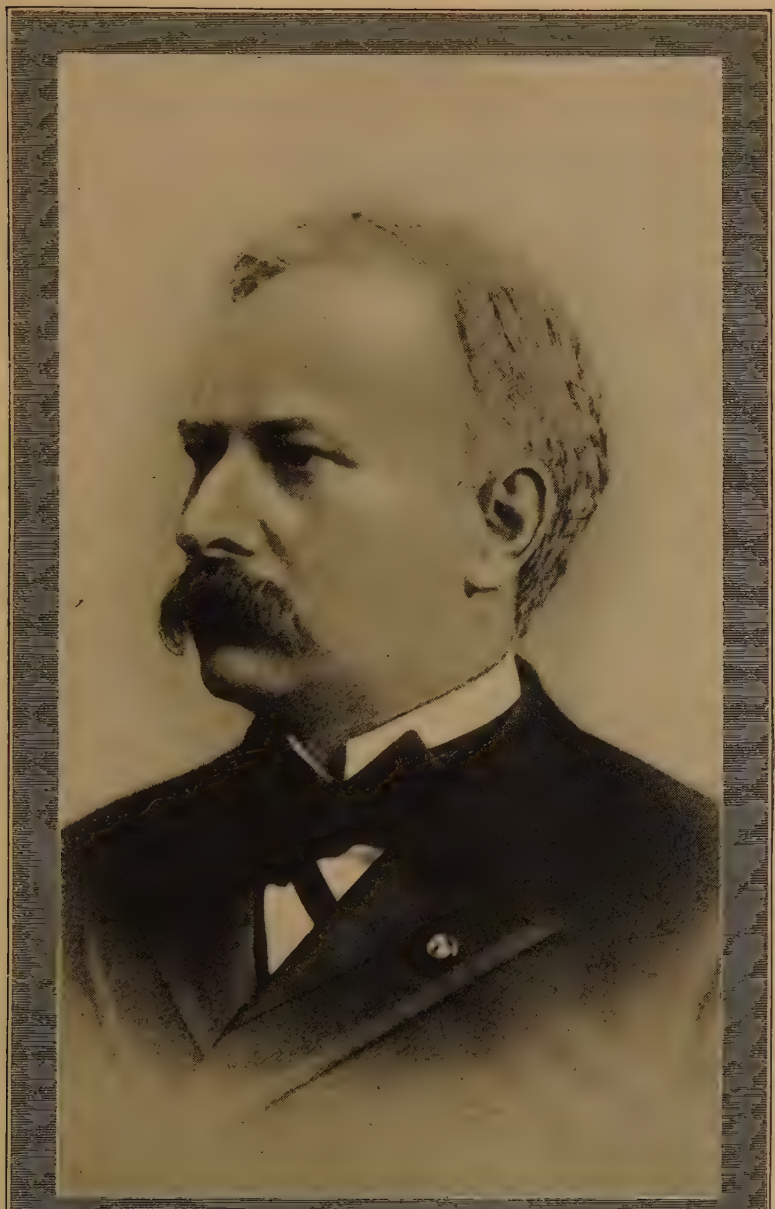
During the four years I was in the executive office he was faithful and efficient in the highest sense of the word. He had a natural aptitude for politics and displayed his abilities in that respect on many occasions, notably at the Zanesville Convention of 1895, where he was a sort of Grand

Field Marshal in charge, when Governor Bushnell was nominated and Mr. Hanna suffered a defeat that made him Mr. Kurtz's enemy for life, but without causing Mr. Kurtz any serious distress of mind, either then or ever afterward.

I was fortunate also in the selection of an Adjutant General. I appointed Henry A. Axline of Zanesville. He had been a soldier during the last year of the Civil War, when he was only fifteen years of age. He had been assistant Adjutant General, with the rank of Colonel, under Governor Foster. He had a natural liking for military life. He was thoroughly familiar with the National Guard, and popular with all its officers and men. He was pleased and worthy to have conferred upon him the rank of Major General and Chief of Staff. He was most efficient throughout the four years he held that office, not only as to the organization as such, but as to all the office work that was imposed upon him, chief of which was the preparation of the official roster of the soldiers of Ohio during the Civil War. He was ably assisted by Col. William S. Wickham, whom I appointed assistant Adjutant General.

General Bushnell had served so successfully as chairman that I was anxious to recognize him in some fitting way, and would have given him any kind of appointment he might have desired that it was in my power to give. When I told him how I felt and asked him to let me know if there was anything he wanted for himself he told me there was nothing "except only the privilege of supporting my administration as he had supported my candidacy." I concluded to appoint him Quartermaster General. He declined to accept but finally yielded assent when I insisted that it was due me that he should accept some kind of recognition, and that I would feel greatly obliged to him if he would act in that capacity. I shall have more to say of General Bushnell when I come to speak of him as Governor, to which office he was elected in 1895.

Another member of the staff was the Honorable Asa W. Jones of Mahoning County, a prominent lawyer, who had actively participated in the campaign, making a number of very effective speeches. He did not want any recognition,



GOVERNOR J. B. FORAKER,
1886-1890.

but at my urgent request accepted the office of Judge Advocate General. He was later, in 1895, elected Lieutenant Governor, on the same ticket with Governor Bushnell.

In addition to these Generals the law provided for ten Colonels on the Governor's Staff. I appointed to these places George L. Couch of Wellington, Lowe Emerson and Arthur L. Fogg, and later Samuel W. Trost of Cincinnati, Charles E. Groce of Circleville, Harry E. Meade of Dayton, Moses H. Neil of Columbus, J. L. Pierson of Painesville, Harry C. Sherrard of Steubenville, George P. Waldorf of Lima, and Henry B. Wilson of Ironton.*

These were all splendid, active, fine looking men, who, in connection with official and public occasions, responded to the call of duty promptly, wore their uniforms and military trappings modestly, discharged their duties creditably, bore the assaults of ridicule bravely, enjoyed the title of "Colonel" immensely, and were on all occasions a happy and agreeable family. Most of them are dead now, but my skirts are clear,—none of them died in battle.

I have for all of them the most grateful recollection, because of the friendship, zeal and fidelity they manifested in all their relations to me then and afterward.

Cincinnati Election Frauds.

During the campaign, commencing with the platform adopted at Springfield, we had kept the question of a free ballot and a fair count at the front. In my inaugural address I gave the same subject first place. This was due not only to the fact that the suppression of the Republican vote throughout the Southern States had been emphasized by the defeat of Mr. Blaine and the fact that election frauds in those States seemed to be year by year becoming worse, but, also to the fact that for several years prior to the campaign of 1885, the city, state and national elections in Cincinnati had been attended by frauds, committed in the interest of the Democrats, by a gang of unscrupulous scoundrels who outraged the sensibilities of not only all Republicans, but also of the great majority of Democrats. Repeating, stuffing ballot boxes, false count-

* Dr. H. J. Herrick of Cleveland was appointed and served as Surgeon General during my first term, and Dr. A. E. Jones of Cincinnati succeeded him as Surgeon General during my second term.

In addition to the Colonels mentioned in the text the following were appointed to fill vacancies, most of them for my second term: William C. Haskell of Ashtabula, John D. Stuckey of Washington C. H., Charles F. Baldwin of Mt. Vernon, Cortland L. Kennan of Norwalk, and Floyd L. Smith of Portsmouth.

These names were all inadvertently omitted in the first edition.

ing and a general "doctoring" of the returns were only some of the evils commonly practiced. In consequence of these frauds almost every election day was a day of disorder, violence, and more or less of rioting and bloodshed. These practices had been so open, flagrant, and notorious that in 1878 the Republicans applied to the United States Court for the appointment of a supervisor of elections, to serve at the approaching October State election, to supervise the election of congressmen who were to be chosen at the same time.

Without any knowledge that any such thing was contemplated, I was appointed by the United States Court to act as Chief Supervisor. Most reluctantly I accepted the trust and entered upon the discharge of its duties. They were burdensome, exacting and responsible, but they proved a good preparation for what was to come afterward. I learned from this practical experience that the appointment for each voting place of supervisors, chosen equally from the best men of both parties, was a good preventive of fraud. The election held that year was freer from violence and violations of the law than any for some time prior thereto, due to this fact more than to anything else.

At that time we had no registration system and no kind of secret ballot. The results of that election were so satisfactory and so universally acquiesced in without complaint, that we hoped our city would not again be disgraced by such practices; but as we approached the date, October 14th, for the State election of 1884, unmistakable indications cropped out of a contemplated renewal of these election outrages.

Both the Mayor and the County Sheriff were Democrats. In consequence, both the police force of the city and the Deputy Sheriffs, of whom the Sheriff could appoint any number he saw fit, were under Democratic control. The police force of that period had a bad reputation. There were some good men on the force, but many who were not. Among them were some who had been convicted of crimes, and others who were known to be professional gamblers and

associates of the criminal classes,—pickpockets, thieves, bawdy house keepers, etc. They were charged not only with connivance at crime but with actual commission of crime while on duty, wearing their uniforms. A notable instance, and one about which columns were published in all the newspapers of the city, was the case of a hold-up and robbery of a citizen in the shadow of a church by two officers who were on duty at the time. They were believed to have been in actual league with the perpetrators of election frauds at some of the elections previously held and also to be in actual league with such offenders as to the frauds contemplated at the approaching election. The deputy sheriffs to be appointed might, of course, be good or bad, but it was feared and believed by Republicans that they would be bad, very bad.

It was Presidential year, and on that account the October election involved not only the choice of congressmen and State officials, which of itself made it important, but it was, also, calculated to exert a strong influence on the election of Presidential electors in November. Having become satisfied that preparations were being made for a revival of the old-time evil practices, and that they had no protection except such as the United States might be able and willing to give, the Republicans asked the United States Court for the appointment of a Chief Supervisor, and asked the United States marshal for the appointment of deputy United States marshals, to support the Chief Supervisor and his assistant supervisors in the supervision of the election of congressmen and to assist in the protection of all who had a right to vote and to arrest all who might attempt to vote illegally or who might commit any other violation of law.

William H. Taft was appointed and acted as Chief Supervisor. Notwithstanding he had the protection of deputy marshals, the frauds committed at that election were not only open and notorious, but in some respects unprecedented, and, in a large measure, successful.

Among these frauds was the arrest and imprisonment, already mentioned, of one hundred and fifty-two colored

voters, who were held under arrest and in imprisonment from the night before the election until after the close of the polls. This outrage on the rights of duly qualified electors brought home to the people of Ohio, as nothing before had done, a realization of the outrages so commonly practiced in some of the Southern States, and aroused a determination to secure in Ohio, at least, a free ballot and an honest count.

At that time the National House of Representatives was Democratic. The Honorable John F. Follett was a Democratic member representing the First District of Ohio. Notwithstanding the frauds that were practiced, he was defeated by the Honorable Benjamin Butterworth by a majority of about sixteen hundred votes; and, notwithstanding the facts were as above indicated, the cry was at once raised that the election had been carried by the Republicans by frauds and intimidations at the hands of the deputy United States marshals.

Mr. Follett asked for and secured the appointment by the House of Representatives of a committee of investigation, of which the Honorable William M. Springer of Illinois was the chairman.

This committee came to Cincinnati and spent several days in the examination of numerous witnesses, both Democrats and Republicans. The procedure was in the nature of an investigation of the Honorable Lot Wright, the United States marshal, who had appointed the deputy marshals.

At the request of Major Butterworth and others I acted as one of the counsel for Mr. Wright.

There was much testimony to show that there were Republican irregularities of one kind and another, but none whatever to show that any Democratic voter had been intimidated or that any Republican fraud of any kind had been committed. On the other hand, a great many Democratic irregularities and evil practices were established in addition to the one mentioned.

Among the many witnesses called was William H. Taft, the Chief Supervisor. Looking back to his testimony it would seem, in the light of the surrounding circumstances,

that he was somewhat mortified by the irregularities, frauds and crimes, that had prevailed and that he attributed them in part, at least, to the character of the deputy United States marshals who had been appointed, and the location and distribution of them for service on election day. At any rate, in view of his subsequent career, it is interesting to quote from the daily press reports of the investigation the following:

Supervising Inspector of Elections Will Taft testified that he made John J. Gleason get out of the Nineteenth Ward polls. He was not drunk, but was trying to arrest a deputy sheriff who was on the inside. He said, "I arrest you on the authority of the United States." The deputy sheriff said, "I'll be d—d if you do." The sheriff was the largest man, and Gleason didn't arrest him. When I saw him he was much excited because the authority of the United States had been disputed. He did not know that people had been intimidated by marshals until the Honorable Jeremiah Mulroy told him so in the evening. On cross-examination he said that in the wards where the marshals were most needed they were of no avail, and, as one of his supervisors informed him, "They were not worth three hurrahs in hell." Mr. Springer asked him if Lot Wright had given him the list of deputy marshals, as directed by law.

Mr. Taft said he had not.

It was hoped that the exposure so made of these evil practices would serve as a deterrent for the future, but the election of 1885 was worse, in some respects, than any ever before held. In fact, bad as was what had gone before, the frauds attempted and practiced by the Democrats of Cincinnati at that election exceeded anything ever before heard of in our State. They were so bad that Governor Hoadly, in a speech made at a farewell banquet given him by the Democracy of Hamilton county on the occasion of his departure from Cincinnati to locate in New York, there to engage in the practice of the law, took occasion to say to his fellow Democrats:

One trouble with the Democracy of Hamilton County is that they have learned the trick of changing the ballots after they have been put in the box. The Democracy of Hamilton County must take a new departure. I am going to speak right out in meetin' here, too. (Cry of "Go ahead.") Never again, never again allow an honorable man to contemplate, as I had to do with shame, my name accredited with

926 votes I never received in the Fourth Ward, and my friend Judge Foraker, in Precinct A, Fourth Ward, accredited with forty-six only, when he certainly received nearly two hundred.

What Governor Hoadly said was true not only of Cincinnati, but in greater or less degree of other places, particularly Columbus. A striking example of the many bold, audacious, criminal things that were done was the changing in the returns of the figure 7 into a 9 in the Fourth Ward of Cincinnati and the changing of a figure 2 into a 5 in the returns from one of the precincts in Columbus, by which in the one case 200 votes and in the other 300 votes were added to the Democratic column and counted as so many votes cast, notwithstanding the footings so made were manifest and glaring forgeries and inconsistent with the tallies.

The aggregate of the forgeries and frauds consummated in one way and another were sufficient to add many hundreds to the apparent Democratic vote and to change in that way the election of ten Republican Representatives and four Republican Senators in Hamilton County to an apparent election of the opposing Democratic candidates. It appearing on the face of the returns that the four Democratic candidates for Senator and the ten Democratic candidates for Representative had a majority of the votes, the election officials were about to return them as duly elected, when a suit was brought to enjoin such action. This case was decided against the Democratic candidates in the lower court, but in the Supreme Court that decision was reversed on the ground that the right of each House to determine the qualifications of its members was the sole and exclusive remedy against the offenses charged.

In consequence of this decision of the Supreme Court the names of the ten Democrats from Hamilton County were placed on the roll of the House of Representatives and the names of the four Democratic Senators were placed on the roll of the Senate.

The total membership of the Senate was thirty-seven, and the total membership of the House one hundred and ten. Excluding the four Republican Senators and the

ten Republican Representatives from Hamilton County and seating their Democratic opponents, the temporary roll stood, in the Senate, Democrats, 20, Republicans, 17; in the House, Republicans, 58, Democrats, 52. In other words, notwithstanding the ten Democratic Representatives fraudulently returned were allowed to participate in the organization of the House, yet the Republicans were able to muster a constitutional majority and elect a Speaker, and a Clerk, and all the other officers.

It was different, however, in the Senate. The constitutional majority necessary to organize that body was nineteen; consequently the Democrats had one more vote than was necessary for organization, while the Republicans had two votes less. The result was a Republican organization in the House and a Democratic organization in the Senate.

Immediately after the organization of the House, the contest over the ten Hamilton County seats was referred to a committee, which, after spending a few days taking testimony, made to the House a majority report in favor of the contestants and a minority report in favor of the contestees.

As stated, I was inaugurated on the 11th day of January. Two days later, on the 13th, the Republican majority in the House forced a vote upon the adoption of these reports with the result that the Democrats were ousted and the Republicans were given their seats in time to vote for John Sherman, who on that same day was re-elected to the Senate of the United States, without any Republican opposition, receiving every Republican vote, both in the Senate and in the House. It was a great day for Ohio Republicans.

Unseating the four fraudulently returned Democratic Senators was a much more difficult matter than that which the House so promptly and so successfully solved. The difficulty was that on every question affecting the contest the Democratic Senators from Hamilton County insisted upon voting, notwithstanding the disqualification of self-interest. The presiding officer ruled that all four were in the same situation and that what affected one affected all

and that self-interest was a disqualification for all, on account of which none had a right to vote. Had there been only one contestee it would have been clear beyond argument that the presiding officer was correct, for such is the universal rule of parliamentary bodies with respect to such questions. The contestees and their Democratic colleagues contended further that notwithstanding the cases and rights of all four were exactly alike, yet each contestee had a right to have his case heard and passed upon separately from the others and that the other three should be allowed to vote for the colleague whose seat was at stake; the Republicans claimed that all coming from the same county, and all being affected alike by the same testimony, all stood in the same relation and that the disqualification extended to the entire group as a group. If the Democratic contention had been sustained there would have been on each vote to unseat nineteen Democratic Senators against seventeen Republican Senators, or a full constitutional Democratic majority of two over the Republicans; or in other words, disposing of their cases separately, meant that all would hold their seats, and, the Supreme Court having ruled there was no other remedy, fraud would have been triumphant by the help of fraud.

Notwithstanding the ruling of the presiding officer the Democratic Clerk insisted upon calling the names of the contestees on every question that from time to time arose affecting their right to their seats, as well as upon other questions and upon announcing the result so reached. The Lieutenant Governor, as presiding officer, in every such instance overruled him by deducting from the vote cast the votes of the contestees and announcing the result accordingly.

This sort of thing went on during all the time the committee to which the contest had been referred was making its investigation. As time passed public feeling with respect to the matter became more and more intense. When finally the committee made its report, April 29th, the Democratic members favored the contestees and the Republican members favored ousting them and seating the Republican con-

testants. These two reports were set down for hearing on the fifth day of May following. When that order of business was reached the entire Democratic membership of twenty failed to appear. It was soon learned and announced that, foreseeing the ruling on final vote of the Lieutenant Governor that all were in the same boat and none could vote, they had not only vacated their seats to break a quorum, but had decamped during the night, and, fugitive-like, had fled into Kentucky, beyond the jurisdiction of the State, so that they could not be reached by the sergeant-at-arms, for the purpose of preventing all further proceedings against the contestees.

The journal of the Senate showed there was no quorum present on the 5th. It showed the same thing for the 6th and the 7th, but on the 8th it showed only that the Senate convened, the reports of the committees were considered and acted upon, the result reached and announced, that the contestees had been wrongfully returned as elected, and that the Republican contestants had been elected and were entitled to be sworn and take their seats, all of which was accordingly done.

The Legislature continued in session until the 19th day of May, when it adjourned until January, 1887. During all this period and until the adjourned session, the Democratic absentees remained away not so much because they were ashamed to return to occupy even those seats that were uncontested, as because they wanted to prevent legislation affecting the liquor traffic, the finances of the state, and the abolition of a number of municipal boards they desired to continue. This plan was fully unfolded when, meanwhile, a suit was brought to test the validity of the Dow law that was enacted during their absence on the ground that the Republican Senators from Hamilton County were unlawfully inducted into office, and that in consequence the statute had been passed in the Senate without the requisite constitutional majority. The Supreme Court upheld the validity of the act on the ground that it could not go behind the record as given in the journal; and that record being silent on the subject it was bound to assume that

there was a quorum present, in the absence of anything in the record to the contrary.

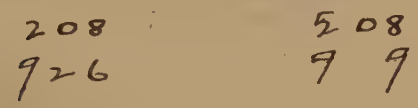
In this way unblushing frauds were brought to naught and the action of the Lieutenant Governor and the Republican Senators was upheld; and all was done legally, for the Senate was not required to show by its journal how many Senators were present, and the court correctly held it was bound, in the absence of anything in the record to the contrary, to assume that it had a quorum. An opposite ruling would have conflicted with the precedents and been an aid to fraud.

General Kennedy, the Republican Lieutenant Governor, distinguished himself throughout this long controversy by a fearless and intelligent discharge of the duties that devolved upon him as presiding officer of the Senate. He was roundly denounced and abused by the Democrats. There was hardly any offensive name that could be thought of that was not applied to him. He was called a tyrant, a usurper, a king, an autocrat, a czar, and everything else that indicated an arbitrary and dictatorial use of power and authority. When finally he emerged from the controversy triumphant he found himself in the enjoyment of the title of "King Bob," but it was applied to him then, not by way of reproach, but in complimentary allusion to the distinguished and courageous service he had so fearlessly and honorably rendered the state. On the other hand, the Democratic Senators, likewise, were the subjects of criticism, denunciation and ridicule. Many names were applied to them, but the one that seemed to stick, because it met with common acceptation and approval, was that of "squaw senators." Just why this particular name should have been given them was not quite clear, but, nevertheless, it was popular. When finally those whose seats were uncontested did return at the adjourned session they came back not in triumph, but shorn of the power of the majority and compelled to be content with the humbler rights and privileges of a minority, to which alone from the first they had been entitled. The newspapers of the day teemed with attentions to them. A few of them, not many, were

humorous. One worthy of preservation, that went the rounds of all the papers, both inside and outside the State, was the following:

$7 + 0 = 9$

The evening shades were settling down,
As the Bourbon gang in Columbus town
Marched into the Senate, all in line
Under this banner of strange design:



The struggle was short—their cause was weak,
And as out of the chamber all did sneak,
They raised a dismal, pitiful whine—
"Seven plus naught—equals nine."

Referring now to my inaugural address, what I said about the necessity for legislation to secure honest elections was prompted by the character of events mentioned. I have taken the trouble to mention these events to show that the time had come for resolute action and that nothing was said or done beyond what was necessary and urgently demanded if we were to have anything like satisfactory and successful popular government.

Election Laws Amended.

I recommended that provision be made for the appointment in the large cities of non-partisan boards of election, consisting of four members each, not more than two of whom should belong to the same political party; and that these boards of election should appoint equally from the two leading parties, judges, clerks, etc., to conduct the election.

In accordance with this recommendation, the Legislature promptly enacted what was known at the time as the Pugsley law, named after its author, the Honorable Jacob J. Pugsley, State Senator from the Highland County Senatorial District. This law applied to the cities of Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, and Toledo, and one of its requirements was that the Governor should appoint the boards authorized, on or before the first day of March then next ensu-

ing; the purpose of this provision being to put the law into operation in time for the Spring municipal elections. The requirements of the law were complied with and the law operated so successfully that it virtually marked the end of election frauds in Ohio. Later another advance step was taken when, at the same session, the Legislature enacted a law requiring registration in the cities of Cincinnati and Cleveland; and still another important advance step was taken upon the recommendation of my successor, Governor Campbell, when the Australian ballot was adopted. From time to time our election laws have been amended, until they are today as nearly perfect as it seems possible to make them. I always recall, with great satisfaction, that I had an important part in the inauguration of this much needed reform.

The early months of my administration were busy months. We not only had the election contests to deal with, in relation to which there was some new development almost every day until the fraudulently returned Senators were finally ousted, that gave us concern, worriment and work, but we had also to elect a United States Senator. This election, although unattended with controversy, yet required time, attention and consideration to conduct it in accordance with required formalities.

The Dow Law

In addition to these two matters, we had the framing and enacting of the election laws, already mentioned, and also the redemption of our pledge that there should be a re-enactment of a statute for the regulation of the liquor traffic in accordance with the principles of the Scott law. All Republicans were united upon this general proposition, but there was, naturally, some difference of opinion as to the details and much care was necessary in drafting the measure to avoid the objections to the Scott law and the Pond law, on account of which those statutes had been held invalid by the Supreme Court. It was impossible to enact any such statute until by the unseating of the four fraudulently returned Democratic Senators we secured a majority in the Senate. Then, on the fourteenth day of

May, 1886, what was called the Dow law, in honor of Senator Dow, its author, was duly enacted. That statute provided for the taxation and regulation of the liquor traffic together with local option prohibition. It was a complete redemption of the promises we had made in our platform and in the campaign. It was from time to time amended by increasing the tax, and in other respects, but without in any regard changing the principles involved. This law, having been attacked, was, as already noted, upheld by the Supreme Court. In its original and amended forms it continued to be the law of Ohio for a quarter of a century and, it may be safely said, thoroughly vindicated by its results the wisdom of the party that enacted it.

The Legislature passed another act which our Democratic friends were very anxious to defeat and which had much to do with the Senators absenting themselves in an effort to blockade all legislation. This was an act undoing a gerrymander of the Congressional districts which had been passed by the previous Legislature. We restored the districts as created in 1882 on the basis of the census of 1880.

In all this busy time and with respect to all this important legislation and the troublesome questions that arose I was fortunate in having the help of a number of good men in both the Senate and the House; among these Senator Pugsley, Senator Pavey, Senator Dow, and Senator Pringle were especially helpful in the Senate; as were the Speaker, John C. Entrekin; the Speaker pro tem, Daniel J. Ryan; Col. C. L. Poorman of Belmont; George G. Washburn of Lorain; Seth W. Brown of Warren; E. L. Lampson of Ashtabula; William S. Matthews of Gallia, and David M. Barrett of Highland, in the House. All these were very able and very efficient legislators. They would have held high rank in the national Congress, where, later, a number of them did serve with credit and distinction.

State's Finances.

On the day I was inaugurated Governor Hoadly told me I would have trouble on account of the financial condition

of the state. I found it so unsatisfactory that I concluded to deal with it in a special message sent to the Legislature on the sixth of April, 1886. In this message I not only set forth the state of the treasury, which was practically empty, but also called attention to the fact that there were gross inequalities in the valuations of property for taxation, both real and personal, and that there should be provision made for correcting the same. I also called attention to the fact that for some reason there had been a decline during my predecessor's administration in the aggregate valuation for taxation of the personal property of the state, amounting for the first year to fourteen millions of dollars, and for the second year eighteen millions of dollars. At the same time there was this decline there was a large increase of expenditures on account of which we were confronted by a deficit that made it necessary to borrow $500,000.

I recommended that this loan be authorized, and that in some suitable way provision should be made for the appointment, instead of the election, of the tax assessors in the municipalities, the constitution requiring their election in the townships; the purpose being to secure greater independence on the part of those fixing values than they could have if dependent on the suffrages of their neighbors for election and re-election to their offices.

This message excited much discussion, not only in the Legislature, but throughout the state. The result was good. In time some of the evils complained of were remedied by law, but instantly there was an improvement in the discharge of the duties of the various taxation officials. When the returns for the year were made up it was disclosed that not only had the decline in the aggregate valuation of the taxable personal property been arrested, but there had been an increase for the year, over the last preceding year, of about $19,000,000. From that time forward the tax duplicate had a healthy growth, and through the help of the Dow law, and in other ways, the revenues were increased until, before I went out of office, instead of a deficit, we had a surplus.

Refunding Bonded Debt.

During Governor Hoadly's administration an effort was made to refund the bonded debt of the state, amounting to $2,240,000. The outstanding bonds representing this amount bore six per cent interest per annum and matured December 31, 1886.

A tentative contract had been entered into during the last year of Governor Hoadly's administration, with his approval, providing for the refunding of this debt at the rate of 3.65 per cent per annum. I declined to consummate this contract and succeeded in negotiating another for the refunding of the debt at 3 per cent with a sale of the 3 per cents at a premium that made the net rate of interest 2.72, the lowest rate the state had ever realized, and a lower rate than the United States government had up to that time ever realized, and a lower rate than the British government had ever up to that time realized. This was regarded, and justly so, as a very successful transaction and one for which I was given much credit.

Board of Public Affairs for Cincinnati.

During Governor Hoadly's administration legislation had been enacted providing for the pavement with granite of the principal streets of Cincinnati, at an expenditure that was authorized, of four millions of dollars. The duty of supervising this work and expending this money, according to this legislation, was devolved upon what was then called the Board of Public Works of that city. There was much dissatisfaction, not only among Republicans, but among Democrats also, with the personnel of this board. In consequence, on the seventeenth day of May, while the Democratic Senators were still absent in Kentucky, the Legislature passed a law abolishing the Board of Public Works and providing for a new board to be called the Board of Public Affairs to be its successor. This board was to consist of five members, who were to be appointed by the Governor. At the time when I was called upon to appoint this board we were all much exasperated by the persistent and

determined fight our Democratic friends were making to hold their fraudulently secured seats in the Senate; not simply that they might occupy these seats, but in order that they might defeat all kinds of legislation of a partisan character, and especially all legislation affecting the liquor traffic or affecting their control of any of the municipal boards of the state, and also, whether intentional or not, the ordinary appropriation bills necessary to protect the public credit and carry on the government of the state. In consequence of this feeling, I appointed five Republicans, instead of three Republicans and two Democrats, as I should have done, and have always regretted I did not do. The men I appointed were good, honorable men, who faithfully and efficiently discharged their duties, but I have always thought it would have looked better, and would have been better, so far at least as the moral effect was concerned, if I had given a proper minority recognition on the board. At the same time I thus criticise myself, I feel that I have a right to say that I had unusual provocation, so much that I had publicly announced before the board was authorized that except required by law I would not appoint any Democrat to any kind of office until the fugitive Senators, who were trying to disrupt the state government, should return to Columbus and resume their duties. I made this announcement not only because of the punitive effect of such a policy, but, also, because I hoped thereby to expedite the return of the absentees.

It is better for one holding so dignified and important an office as that of Governor to absolutely control his temper at all times and never allow himself to act under the impulse of excitement, resentment or any kind of passion.

I should say, further, with respect to these appointments, that the results were of the most satisfactory character. The expenditures authorized were honestly made and the work done for the city was up to the highest standard and of the most durable and beneficial character. The streets paved by that board are with only ordinary repairs in as good condition today as when they were constructed.

Removal of Cincinnati Police Board.

One other disagreeable duty was thrust upon me within a few days after my inauguration. Certain citizens of Cincinnati filed with me charges against the police board then in office and in control of the police force. That board consisted of two Democrats and one Republican, all known to me personally and all, outside of politics and their official positions, friendly and cordial in their relations to me. These charges were that they had appointed improper men on the force, as heretofore recited, and that they had kept men on the force who had connived at fraud and crimes and offenses of one kind and another.

I served them with notice that these charges had been filed and furnished each with a copy of the same, and fixed a time at which they should have the privilege of appearing to answer, or otherwise be heard, in their defense. When the date for the hearing arrived they appeared by counsel who sought to raise technical points and secure delays. It is sufficient, without going into detail, to state that it appeared from the papers filed by them—answers, affidavits, etc., that enough was admitted to justify and demand, in my opinion, an order of removal. I thought it best upon this state of facts established to act at once, and immediately made such an order. I appointed two Republicans and one Democrat to succeed them until the Legislature authorized me to appoint a new non-partisan board of four members. No act of my official careeer gave more satisfaction to the people of Cincinnati, Democrats as well as Republicans, than this, and no act of my official career was to me personally, because of my acquaintance with the men removed, more disagreeable. The new board promptly reorganized the police force and made it, in truth and in fact, "the finest." It has ever since remained a faithful, efficient, well organized, well disciplined body of men, a credit to the city and to all concerned.

One of the last official duties of the year that was out of the ordinary and worthy of mention was the transfer to the United States of the Muskingum river improvement in accordance with an act of Congress and an act of the

Ohio Legislature. By this transaction the state was relieved of a considerable burden, and at the same time benefited by that navigable water and its locks and other improvements passing under the more efficient control of the United States government.

The Governor of a state has many duties to discharge outside the office provided for him in the capitol building. Some of these are strictly official, such as visiting the different state institutions—penal, benevolent and charitable, in order that he may become acquainted with the personnel of the officials in charge, and at the same time investigate conditions and methods of administration.

Removal of Remains of Salmon P. Chase.

Others of these outside duties are only quasi-official, such as devolved upon me in connection with the removal to Ohio for reinterment in Spring Grove cemetery of the remains of Salmon P. Chase.

He was twice Governor of Ohio, and twice United States Senator from Ohio; he was Secretary of the Treasury, and for eight years Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He died in the city of New York, May 7th, 1873.

His body was placed in a tomb temporarily in Oak Hill Cemetery at Washington to await a suitable opportunity to transfer it to its final resting place. A program was arranged by his friends and officials at Washington for carrying out this purpose. I was assigned the duty, as Governor, of officially receiving the remains at Cincinnati.

It was an occasion of great dignity and a great crowd was in attendance at Music Hall, where the official exercises were held on the 14th of October, 1886, drawn there not alone to pay tribute to the deceased, but also to see the distinguished public officials who were in attendance, of whom there were a goodly number—more doubtless than ever appeared together in Cincinnati at any other time.

Major Butterworth, then representing the First District in Congress, was chosen by a committee appointed by

the House of Representatives to commit the remains to the officials of Ohio. In the course of his remarks, after giving a brief sketch of the life and services of the distinguished dead, speaking of his remains, he said:

They were accompanied hither by a representative of the President of the United States, by a committee of the Supreme Court of the United States, including the Chief Justice, by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and by members of both Houses of Congress, by representatives of the National Treasury Department and of the War Department, by a committee of the Washington bar, by colored citizens who enjoyed the confidence and friendship of the late Chief Justice, by prominent journalists and other citizens. It is not my purpose to speak of the life or services of Chief Justice Chase. Others will do that. Our mission is accomplished. To you, Governor Foraker, as Governor of Ohio, and the representative of all the people of Ohio, we now commit this casket, which contains the ashes of our illustrious dead.

I said in response:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:—I express the sentiment of all the people of this State when I say they feel greatly gratified and highly honored by this day's work. They justly regard themselves as deeply indebted to Mr. Chase for many important and distinguished public services in their behalf.

As a lawyer, as the compiler of our statutes, as the Governor of our State, and as our representative in the Senate of the United States, he did much for us that was not only of great, but of lasting good. While as Secretary of the Treasury and as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court he served us, in common with the whole nation, with such conspicuous ability and fidelity as to place us under the obligations of an everlasting debt of gratitude.

But, sirs, the name of Salmon P. Chase is suggestive to the people of this State, among whom he lived and to whom he was so well known, of much more than the highest order of ability as a lawyer, a statesman and a jurist.

For his splendid services in all these relations they honor his name and will forever hold his memory in grateful recollection. But that does not indicate all. It should be added that they loved him in life and think of him now with an affectionate regard because of the broad humanity, the very genial nature and the sincerely religious character of the man.

Our country has produced many men of genius and of intellectuality.

Every generation has had its great leaders, who have challenged admiration by the earnestness and the efficiency with which they have

served their country and the cause of good government; but not since Washington has America produced a great public man the superior of Mr. Chase in the matter of an exemplary private life. No matter to what period in his career you may address your attention, whether when he was most discouraged by disappointments or when he was most flushed with success, you will find him ever the same calm, faithful, trusting Christian gentleman, true to all the social and domestic duties and relations of life, ever zealously devoting himself to religious and charitable works, and basing and squaring all his actions in accordance with divine precepts.

In this most solemnly important respect his life and character are pre-eminently worthy of emulation.

It was natural for such a man to champion the oppressed and become a leader for their cause in the great stormy contest through which he passed; and natural, too, for him to endear himself to the great mass of his countrymen, and particularly to the people of this State, to whom he was known, as I have indicated, not only as one of the greatest and most honored sons, but also as one of the most kind, lovable and Christian-like of men.

It is, therefore, with hearts full of affectionate reverence for his memory, as well as jealous pride for his lasting fame, that we receive and welcome his ashes to Ohio.

Many other duties are entirely unofficial yet regarded by common consent as due the public, such as attending and addressing county fairs, soldiers' reunions, pioneer celebrations, political assemblages, and other public meetings of similar character.

G. A. R. Encampment at Cleveland, 1886.

In the discharge of one of these unofficial duties I attended the State Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic held at Cleveland that year during the last days of April. Many distinguished ex-army officers and Union soldiers were present, not only from our own State but from other States. Ex-President Hayes, Governor Alger of Michigan, General Leggett, and many other distinguished ex-soldiers were in attendance. Several thousand soldiers marched in the procession, and the camp fire, held in Music Hall, was attended by a surging crowd of people who occupied every foot of available space. I was assigned the duty of making a speech of welcome on behalf of Ohio

to our visiting comrades from other States. On my way to Cleveland I read in the morning papers of a great Confederate reunion held at Montgomery, Alabama, the day before, attended by Jefferson Davis.

The papers gave a glowing account of the cordial welcome extended to the ex-President of the Confederacy, and told how the choicest roses and flowers of spring time were strewn in his path wherever he went and how his room was literally a bower of roses, and then gave an account of the speech he made, and quoted him as saying that the demonstration in his honor indicated to him that "the spirit of liberty was not dead in the South." The newspapers told how enthusiastically his remarks were received by the audience he was addressing, and how, by other speakers, he was extolled and lauded as "a great patriot who would rank in history with George Washington."

In the course of my remarks I took occasion to refer to this demonstration and condemned it as unpatriotic and condemned also, and especially, the suggestion that Jefferson Davis was to rank as a patriot with Washington in history. In connection with this I said that "if the spirit of liberty is not dead in the South, neither is it dead in the North."

A few days before this I had been appointed by the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church to attend the then approaching conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, to be held at Richmond, Virginia, as a fraternal lay delegate. My remarks at Cleveland were carried by the Associated Press to the newspapers all over the country. At once there came through the columns of the Southern papers and the papers of the North that were in sympathy with them a general protest against my attending the conference at Richmond. I was flooded with letters and telegrams on the subject that came to me from every part of the South, most of them bitter and ugly and abusive, manifesting anything but a Christian or religious spirit. All such protested against my attending the conference. Some of my friends advised me to pay no attention to what had been said. I had already,

immediately upon receipt of a notice of my appointment, written to our Board of Bishops advising them that it would be impossible for me to accept the appointment and attend. I contented myself with giving out the following interview:

So far as attending the conference is concerned, I wrote our Board of Bishops as soon as notified of my appointment that other engagements would prevent my going to Richmond as a delegate. So far as what I said about Jeff Davis is concerned, I have no apologies to make. Much of the feeling that seems to have been aroused is due, no doubt, to the fact that only a misleading extract of my remarks seems to have been published in the Eastern and Southern papers. . . .

But here is what I said on the subject in question. You can use it or not, as you like: "I have never yet seen the time, since the war or before the war closed, when outside of the hostile lines I could not clasp hands with and have respect for the brave man who could take his life in his hand and battle for his convictions, though they were ever so wrong; therefore, it is that I can understand why the people of the South can honor those men who were led into that contest, but I cannot understand why they should ever honor men such as Jefferson Davis, who, knowing better, misled them to their ruin in the attempt to destroy the best government that the good Lord ever permitted a people to have. Whatever others may represent, this man, Jeff Davis, who talks about liberty, represents only human slavery, the degradation of labor, the treason of secession and rebellion, the horrors and infamies of Libby and Andersonville—all, in short, that is most malicious, vicious and damnable in American history. To talk of him as an illustrious statesman and patriot, who is to be honored with Washington in history is to insult every sentiment of loyalty and decency in this great country he wickedly did so much to destroy."

Charleston Earthquake.

This storm had scarcely subsided when the city of Charleston, S. C., was almost destroyed by an earthquake. Hundreds of homes were made untenantable and thousands of the citizens of that city were left homeless and helpless. In the same dispatches that announced the disaster an appeal was made to the people of the whole country for assistance. The Legislature had adjourned and I had no authority to act in such a matter, but I telegraphed the Mayor of Charleston tendering the use of five hundred tents of the National Guard and promptly received a very appreciative

acceptance of one hundred and fifty tents, the closing paragraph of which was very gratifying. It read as follows:

> . . . What a grand thing it is to be part of this magnificent Union of States, and surrounded by a population whose hearts are in full sympathy with our distress. Thank the people of Ohio for all they have done, and accept my warm thanks for your prompt help.
>
> W. A. Courtenay, *Mayor.*

Within a few hours the tents were loaded and on their way to the stricken city. They reached there almost before any other important outside help had come to hand. They were most cordially welcomed and were pitched and used to shelter the homeless until the emergency was passed. Mr. Cleveland was then President. He was appealed to for help, but answered that he had no authority to grant the assistance requested. His action was a sore disappointment to the people of the South generally, especially when contrasted with mine. This disappointment was emphasized by the fact that on the very day Ohio's tents reached Charleston a shipment of tents, belonging to the United States, passed through Charleston on their way from Washington to Florida, where they were to be used to shelter a lot of Apache Indians, who had been captured on the frontier and taken there to be held as prisoners.

My action was not prompted, as was unkindly charged, by the protests of the M. E. Church South, or any of the people of the South, against my attending the conference at Richmond as a fraternal lay delegate, nor because of any of the other criticisms that had been made on account of the fact that in the campaign, from which I had so recently emerged successfully, I had vigorously championed a free ballot and a fair count, or, in the language of that day, had "waved the bloody shirt," and done a lot of other things that displeased the Democrats of the South. If there had not been any such campaign and had not been any such criticisms I should have done with respect to the earthquake at Charleston precisely what I did.

I was not thinking of their good or ill will, but only of the claims of humanity.

I received repeated invitations to visit Charleston. The Mayor wrote me a number of beautiful letters in that behalf. I long had it in mind, on some suitable occasion, to give myself the pleasure of meeting the people who had been so unfortunate and who had shown so much grateful appreciation for what I had done in the hour of their distress, but there was always something to prevent; and now, after this long lapse of years, I fear I shall never have the pleasure of seeing that city and meeting with its generous and chivalric citizens.

When, finally, my first year in office ended, much had been done and most of it so successfully that I was justified in feeling well satisfied with the record made.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Home.

In accordance with the recommendations and appeals of the Grand Army of the Republic and other ex-Union soldiers, the Legislature authorized the construction of a Soldiers' and Sailors' Home by Act passed April 30, 1886, to supplement the work of the National Military Homes in taking care of the needy and deserving veterans of the Union Army.

In accordance with the provisions of this statute I appointed as the first Board of Trustees General R. B. Brown of Zanesville, Hon. Thomas B. Paxton of Cincinnati, Hon. Isaac F. Mack of Sandusky, Hon. William P. Orr of Piqua, and Hon. Thomas T. Dill of Mansfield. They located and constructed at Sandusky, Ohio, and there successfully inaugurated the work of one of the most creditable public institutions of our State.

My old colleague of the Superior Court, Gen. Manning F. Force was chosen by the Board of Trustees to be the first Superintendent. He took great pride and found great delight in caring for his comrades, who were thus entrusted to him.

Working Home For the Blind.

At the same session of the General Assembly an Act was passed authorizing the Governor to appoint a board of three

Trustees to establish, construct and put into operation a working home for the blind. To execute this trust I appointed John O. Winship of Cleveland, James B. Wallace of Milford, and H. De Crow of Galion.

My part in this work was in the nature of a tribute to the memory of the blind friend of my boyhood, Alfred Skeen.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1887

MOCCASIN TRACKS.

MY second year as Governor ran along smoothly so far as my official duties were concerned. The adjourned session of the Legislature was not attended with anything of an extraordinary character.

I had become familiar with the public institutions and there were no new boards to appoint.

There were, however, some occurrences that may be mentioned. In the first place I struck a responsive chord in the South by the following paragraph from my annual message to the Legislature, January 4, 1887:

Confederate Graves in Ohio.

You will find in the Adjutant General's report some correspondence with the Quartermaster General of the United States Army at Washington relative to the care of the Confederate Cemetery near Columbus (Camp Chase), and you will learn from it that the United States authorities are without funds (appropriated) to care for this place. The title to it is in the United States, and that government should care for these graves, but it seems to have overlooked them. The fence that encloses the lot is in a dilapidated condition, and the entire burial place is overgrown with weeds and thistles and briars. It is recommended that, unless the United States Government can be induced to do so, an appropriation be made to rebuild the fence and clean up the grounds and put them in orderly repair and condition.

The same should be done for the last resting place of about two hundred Confederate dead who are buried on Johnson's Island. The hatred and detestation that all loyal people must and should ever entertain for the destructive political doctrines that these men fought for ought not to stand in the way of either a cordial feeling toward the living who have abandoned such heresies, or a proper regard and Christian respect for the graves of the dead who, although wrong, yet heroically and valorously contended for the convictions they entertained.

Appointment of Judge Taft.

Next in order of time at least was the appointment of William H. Taft to fill a vacancy on the bench of the

Superior Court of Cincinnati, occasioned by the resignation of my former colleague, Judson Harmon, afterward Attorney General of the United States during Mr. Cleveland's second administration, and later still, twice Governor of Ohio and prominently considered for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1912.

He came to Columbus before tendering his resignation to tell me of the contemplated step.

In the conversation that followed we naturally talked about the appointment of a suitable successor. A number of prominent Cincinnati lawyers of wide experience and excellent qualifications were considered and discussed, but we finally favored William H. Taft, for whom Judge Harmon expressed a preference.

Although Mr. Taft was then only twenty-nine years of age, and although he had not as yet had much experience in the practice, I knew him well enough to know that he had a strong intellectual endowment, a keen, logical, analytical, legal mind, and that all the essential foundations for a good Judge had been well and securely laid.

When the vacancy occurred I gave him the appointment. Judge Harmon may have given him some intimation of what might possibly happen, but I had not given to him, or anybody else, any information on the subject. The appointment went to him, therefore, without any application or the filing of any of the usual recommendations that are made in such cases.

The following correspondence speaks for itself:

CINCINNATI, OHIO, January 29, 1887.

Dear Governor:—Mr. Gessner's dispatch this noon conveyed to us the very welcome news of my brother's appointment to the Superior Court bench. It is a high honor and I hasten to say to you that I appreciate it to the fullest extent. He is young but has the strength, the determination and the ability, I think, to meet the requirements of the situation. I trust you shall have no cause to regret making this appointment. Very truly yours,

CHARLES P. TAFT.

TO GOVERNOR J. B. FORAKER,
Columbus, Ohio.

Hon. Joseph B. Foraker, Cincinnati, January 31, 1887.
Governor of Ohio.

My Dear Sir:—I write to express my sincere thanks to you for the honor you have conferred upon me. You have told me a number of times that you were in favor of young men. I little expected to have so strong and to myself so gratifying a proof of your convictions on that head. Considering the opportunity so honorable a position offers to a man of my age and circumstances, my debt to you is very great. The responsibility you assume for me in making this appointment will always be a strong incentive to an industrious and conscientious discharge of my duties. With renewed assurances of my thanks, I am

Your obedient servant,
Wm. H. Taft.

Cincinnati, January 31, 1887.

My Dear Governor:—I will not conceal from you that I am very much gratified with the appointment of my son, William, to the bench of the Superior Court, and I wish to express my sincere and cordial thanks for your kind consideration of his merits. I hope that he will so discharge the responsible and delicate duties of the office that you may not have any occasion to regret your choice.

I am cordially yours,
Alphonso Taft.

It seems that, in acknowledging the receipt of the letter from William H. Taft, I took the liberty of advising him to quit the bench after the service of one term. I am unable to find a copy of my letter, but at any rate I received from him a letter from which I quote as follows:

City's Solicitor's Office.

Hon. Joseph B. Foraker, Cincinnati, February 9, 1887.
Governor of Ohio.

My Dear Governor:—. . . I wish to thank you for the very kind words of your letter in regard to my appointment. When I showed your letter to my father, he said, "That is good advice. Be sure and follow it." I shall hope to express to you my thanks and obligations for your great kindness in person this week. Sincerely yours,
William H. Taft.

I must have had this thought earnestly in mind, for I find that when, in April, 1888, he was elected to succeed himself as my appointee, I wrote him as follows:

April 3, 1888.

My Dear Judge:—Accept my hearty congratulations on your well-earned success.

Don't forget the advice I gave you to quit the bench at the end of the time for which you have now been elected.

You will then be of mature age and experience, and so established in the confidence of the people that all other things will come naturally.

Much prosperity is in store for you, I am sure.

Hastily but very truly yours,

HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT, J. B. FORAKER.
Cincinnati.

To which he answered as follows:

HON. JOSEPH B. FORAKER, April 5, 1888.
Governor of Ohio.

My Dear Governor:—I have received your very kind note of congratulation and am much obliged to you for it. Of course, it goes without saying that I should never have been mentioned for the place except for the fact that you had appointed me to fill the vacancy. But more than that, it was owing to your friends who knew your kind interest in the matter, that the nomination came as it did. I am anxious to express to you how highly I appreciate your kindness and how much I value the opportunity you have afforded me. I shall certainly follow your advice as to making this coming term my last. I hope, my dear Governor, that you are enjoying good health, and that this will always be yours in the most prominent and honorable life which is so clearly before you; indeed, is already here. Sincerely your friend,

WM. H. TAFT.

In view of the relations so established, I was not surprised when, later, I received from him the following letter. It will perhaps prove interesting, to Judge Dickson* at least, who is now, and has been for many years, in honorable service on the bench in Hamilton County, to learn from this letter and my answer, possibly for the first time, of these expressions of the esteem in which he was held by both of us:

PERSONAL.

HON. JOSEPH B. FORAKER, June 7, 1888.
Governor of Ohio.

My Dear Governor:—Will Dickson was a classmate of mine at Yale, and we have been close friends ever since, so that I know whereof I am about to write. He is a fellow of unusual ability, and well fitted to fill the position of Prosecuting Attorney of this county. He has a facility in speaking which will make him a valuable aid in the campaign next fall. He is very industrious and conscientious in the discharge of

* Since this was dictated Judge Dickson has departed this life.

every duty. For the good of the public and the party, whose ticket he would, if nominated, certainly strengthen, I am exceedingly anxious to help him in every way that I can to secure the nomination. He has said to me that he thinks that I could help him materially by writing to you what I know of him and his qualifications. He is such an honorable and genial man, that if you ever become better acquainted with him, I am sure that you will realize the truth of what I say. Any aid you may find it consistent with your ideas of propriety to render him will, I am certain, be in the interest of good government and beneficial to Republicanism. I hope that you are enjoying good health, my dear Governor. I only wish you could join my wife and me in our trip to Europe this summer. If you think that I should not have written this letter to you, pay no attention to it. You are doubtless harassed with many suggestions. Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

I answered:

June 8, 1888.

My Dear Judge:—I have your letter of the 7th inst. I sympathize with you in your good opinion of Mr. Dickson, not only on his own account, but also on account of his father, who has always been very kind to me. I do not know, however, to what extent, if at all, I can be of assistance to him. I have it in mind to find out about the situation as to candidates for the office he seeks, and if I find matters in such shape that I can aid him, it will give me pleasure to do so. Of course you understand it is but little I can do in such matters with propriety.

I sincerely wish you a happy trip abroad and a safe return. Do not get drowned. That would spoil the programme I have in mind for you, and if you knew how much store I place by it, you would certainly understand what a serious disappointment it would be.

Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. FORAKER.

HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

THE REBEL FLAG ORDER.

My growing popularity with the South was short-lived; or rather it was suddenly and rudely interrupted; but, fortunately for me, I gained as much as I lost in Ohio and most of the Northern States.

This happened when the newspapers published telegrams from Washington announcing that President Cleveland had ordered a return "to the Confederate States" of their captured battle flags, including those in the custody of the different States.

Inasmuch as the Congress had not authorized anything of the kind, and President Cleveland had not himself been a soldier, his action in voluntarily taking such a step was severely criticised.

The resentment and the criticisms were stronger than they otherwise would have been because of the numerous veto messages of private pension bills that President Cleveland had written in language that showed lack of sympathy with the pensioners, and because also of his refusal to make any remarks on the battlefield of Gettysburg on the occasion of an official visit he had made there; and because again, and more particularly, of his apparent intentional offense to the patriotic public sentiment of the country in going fishing on Decoration Day.

In consequence of all these things, and a number of others not necessary to be here mentioned, the announcement from Washington aroused intense excitement among all classes of patriotic people, and especially among the ex-Union soldiers of the country.

They rushed into print, and used the mails and telegraph to register their protests against what was proposed.

I received a perfect shower of such communications. Among others a telegram came from Captain Erskine Carson of Hillsboro, with whom I was well acquainted. He had been a soldier in the 73rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and was severely wounded in the second battle of Bull Run. It had been necessary for him to dress his wound twice a day ever since he received it.

I knew him so well and knew him to be such a worthy, deserving, intelligent, public-spirited man and citizen that I thought he was entitled to an assurance that would give him peace of mind. Accordingly, when I heard from him, I telegraphed an answer.

I knew that anything said or done with respect to the matter by one in authority would receive attention, but I was quite surprised when the next morning both his telegram and my answer found a conspicuous place on the first page of every prominent newspaper in Ohio and practically all the newspapers of the United States.

I mention this occurrence and insert copies of the telegrams that passed between us, not so much because they are important, as because they illustrate how events that are in and of themselves unimportant will sometimes unexpectedly receive attention, be widely exploited and have decided effects upon the fortunes of a public man.

The telegram from Captain Carson was as follows:

Gov. J. B. Foraker, Hillsboro, June 15, 1887.
Columbus, Ohio.
The old soldiers of Hillsboro hope you will not give up any captured rebel flags in the State House at Columbus Intense feeling here among the boys who wore the blue. E. Carson.

To which I answered:

Executive Chamber.

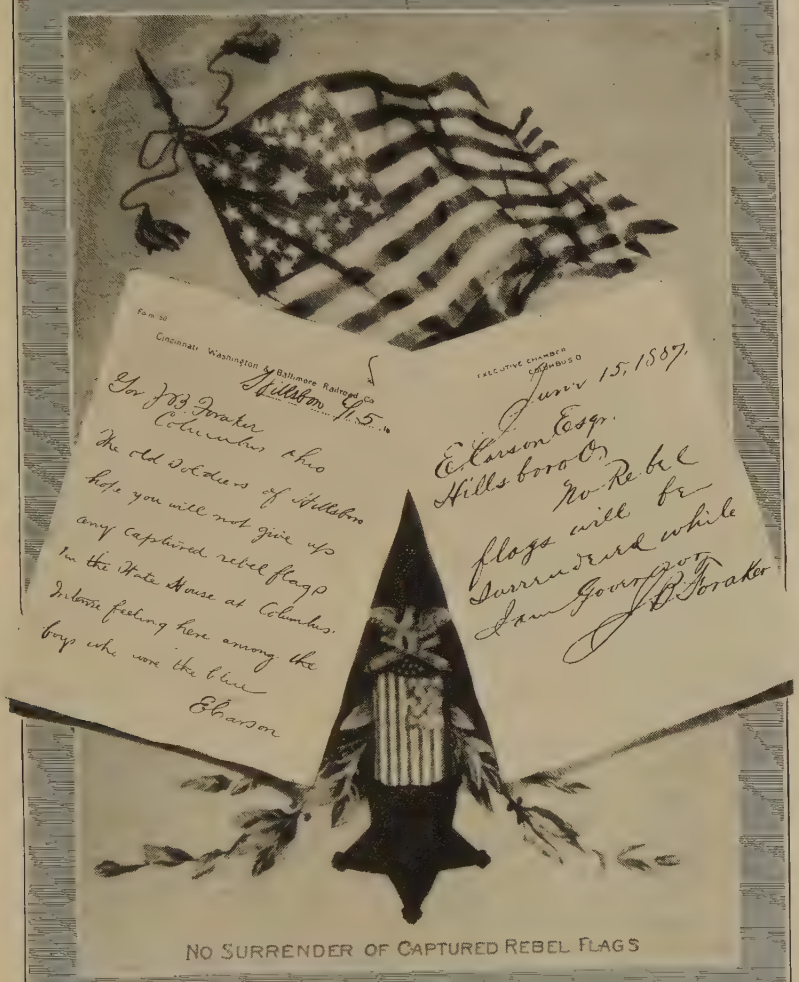
E. Carson, Esq., Columbus, Ohio, June 15, 1887.
Hillsboro, Ohio.
No rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor.
J. B. Foraker.

In the political literature of the campaign of that year when I was a candidate for re-election, these two telegrams, printed with an artistic arrangement of the flag, held an important place. It seemed as though practically every Republican voter wanted a copy.

Gettysburg Monuments.

The Legislature passed an act during the early days of my administration, creating a Gettysburg Memorial Commission and authorizing it to spend such amount as might be necessary, not exceeding thirty-five thousand dollars, with which to erect on the battlefield of Gettysburg suitable monuments to mark and commemorate the points at which nineteen different Ohio organizations had fought in that battle.

This commission, having completed its work, designated the fourteenth day of September, 1887, as the date on which they would officially and formally present the results



NO SURRENDER OF CAPTURED REBEL FLAGS

CAMPAIGN DOCUMENT, CAMPAIGN 1887.

of their labors to the State of Ohio, which in turn would officially transfer them to the Battlefield Memorial Association of Gettysburg.

The date was fixed with reference to the Centennial Celebration to be held at Philadelphia on the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth days of September of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, in which all the States were asked to take part and were asked to send a suitable military organization to participate in a grand military display, which was to be made on the second day of the celebration.

This invitation had been accepted and the Legislature had authorized the expenditures necessary to be incurred both for the memorial exercises at Gettysburg and the celebration at Philadelphia. Both occasions were, therefore, official in character.

The Gettysburg Commission of Ohio was composed of the Secretary of State, the Auditor of State and the Adjutant General.

A program of exercises was arranged by the commissioners in accordance with which General J. S. Robinson, Secretary of State and Chairman of the Memorial Commission, was to act as the presiding officer of the day. General Axline, the Adjutant General, was to act as Grand Marshal, and General Robinson, as President of the Commission, was to officially deliver to me as Governor of the State the monuments the commission had erected, and I in turn was, as the Governor of the State, to transfer them to the Battlefield Memorial Association of Gettysburg, of which association Governor James A. Beaver of Pennsylvania, was the ex officio President.

This program was to be carried out on the battlefield and the speeches made in connection with the occasion were to be delivered from the forum erected there for use on such occasions.

In order that the day might be suitably honored I attended with my entire military staff, and directed the Adjutant General to have present there on the occasion the Fourteenth

Regiment of the Ohio National Guard, of which Colonel George D. Freeman was the commander.

It was for a National Guard regiment a splendidly drilled, equipped and disciplined body of men. We invited all citizens of Ohio desiring to witness the ceremonies, especially all surviving ex-soldiers of the different commands from our State who had participated in the battle, to be present. Railroads granted excursion rates. In consequence there was a tremendous throng present at the ceremonies. Many citizens, especially ex-soldiers, were present from Ohio, and thousands were present from Pennsylvania and other States.

In accordance with the program previously arranged, General Robinson presided and in suitable words formally presented to me as Governor of the State the monuments which until that moment had been under their control. In turn I presented them to the Battlefield Memorial Association of Gettysburg.

My remarks on the occasion were as follows:

Gentlemen of the Gettysburg Memorial Association:—Plymouth Rock, Jamestown and Gettysburg are three of the most important points in American history. They mark respectively the beginning of free and slave institutions and the triumph of the one over the other. Until the march of time and progress brought us to this field, free, popular government was indeed but an experiment, menaced by a doubtful, as well as an irrepressible, conflict. Here was found the beginning of the end. The struggle that commenced with American civilization grew continually stronger and fiercer until Pickett charged. As his columns reeled backward in defeat the cause of human bondage began to pale and the tide of rebellion to recede. From Gettysburg to Appomattox was a long march, stained with blood and strewn with the dead, but the bravery with which it was resisted was but the sullen obstinacy of despair; for here the prestige of the slave power had been broken. On this field the cause of liberty and union gained a positive and permanent triumph. When the retreating battalions of Lee marched out of Pennsylvania it was already virtually determined that the American Union was indissoluble; that the Constitution of the United States was the organic law of the people; that no State had a right to defy the national power; that slavery must perish; that the whole land should be dedicated to human liberty; that we should have but one government, one flag and one destiny for the whole American people.

Almost a quarter of a century has passed. The moving columns, glittering bayonets, flashing sabers and charging squadrons of that fearful time are gone forever. The rattling musketry and the roaring

cannon of the mighty struggle are hushed. Where was the carnage of war is now only peace.

Quiet and beauty reign over these historic heights and pleasing plains. Men who met here in the shock of battle as foes have since met here to clasp hands as friends and fellow citizens of a reunited country. If there be any one thing for which we should be more thankful than we are for the success of our arms, it is that through the mercy of God we have been spared to see the day when the men who battled so valiantly to destroy the Union are beginning to realize how utterly wicked and unjustifiable was their cause, and how indescribably great was the blessing to them, as well as to us, of their defeat. As the years go by, appreciation for this blessing will be strengthened. The day can not be long delayed when the Lost Cause will have lost its last mourner; when all will recognize, with profound thankfulness for the result, that the war was waged, not for destruction, but for preservation; not for sectionalism, but for nationality; that we might go forward with a common pride to a common destiny.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the consequences of the heroism and sacrifice of life that were here witnessed. We have, as a result, not only an imperial domain of territory, capable of accommodating the hundreds of millions who are coming with the years of the future, but we have also civil and religious liberty for all; we have civil and political equality for all; we have a satisfactory Constitution and theory of government for all; we have a common interest for all. Our success has been felt beyond our own shores. It has cheered all mankind. Ireland is not the only land where there is a struggle. In England, France, Germany and every other civilized country the people are demanding and receiving recognition and a voice in government. Their inspiration has been imparted by our achievements. We have thrown the beaming rays of liberty around the globe.

Gettysburg was more, therefore, than a mere battle. It was more than the turning point of a great war. It was an epoch in the history of the world—a crowning triumph for the human race.

There are other reasons that endear this place to the hearts of our countrymen. Here was fought the greatest single combat of the war. On no other field was there such equality of numbers, or a more distinguished display of American valor. Almost every State of the Union was here represented. The blood of all sections was here commingled. Yonder lie Reynolds and the brave men who fell and sleep with him, and here Lincoln stood and made a speech as immortal as his own undying fame. Verily, this is consecrated ground. Throughout all the ages, until Time shall be no more, so long as heroic endeavor, patriotic sacrifice and human welfare shall be appreciated, this will be a hallowed spot for the children of men.

Ohio has a just pride in the conspicuous part her sons wrought in this great work. She manifests it by erecting here these enduring monuments. We have come to dedicate them in her name to the high purposes they are intended to subserve. In formally transferring them to your keeping, it is not necessary to recount the exploits or vaunt the deeds they are intended to commemorate. The monuments themselves do that more eloquently than any language that can be spoken. The

positions they mark were the forefront of the battle. But Ohio has not erected them in a spirit of pride alone. They are intended also to express her gratitude and to teach lessons of patriotism. She acknowledges in this way her everlasting indebtedness to the men who were willing to give life that the heresy of secession might perish, and at the same time tells posterity of the priceless blood that has been shed, and of the daring deeds that have been done that our government might live. It was to subserve such purposes that Ohio appointed the commission who have labored so long and satisfactorily to accomplish the task intrusted to them. I know their work has been a labor of love. Nevertheless, on behalf of the people whom they have represented, I give them thanks for the zeal they have manifested, the good judgment they have displayed and the success they have achieved. It is with the hope and belief that they have not worked in vain that I now intrust to you, gentlemen of the Gettysburg Memorial Association, the custody and care of Ohio's monuments to her soldiers who fought on this field. So long as loyalty is appreciated and treason despised, so long as it is an honor to fight for the Union and a crime to fight against it, we beseech you to jealously guard them and care for their preservation. Should there come a time when they do not teach this, then let them crumble.

The day was a memorable one, and full of honor to all concerned. The memorials erected to mark the respective places occupied by the different regiments and batteries from Ohio were exceptionally suitable for the purpose and compared most favorably with similar memorials erected for the same purpose by other States.

The Philadelphia Centennial Celebration.

From Gettysburg we repaired to Philadelphia, where we participated in the celebration.

On the sixteenth I rode in the military procession at the head of the Fourteenth Regiment, accompanied by my staff. We were reviewed by President Cleveland, with whom, on the reviewing stand, were a great many of the most distinguished men of the nation.

The streets over which we marched were lined by tens of thousands of spectators. On account of the rebel flag incident and some criticisms of Mr. Cleveland, in which I had indulged in some of the speeches I had been making in Ohio, there was an apprehension that there might be some unpleasantness connected with our meeting. All who were

expecting anything of the kind were disappointed, at least, so far as the President and myself were concerned.

I saluted him as we passed in review and he properly returned the salute.

The following from the pen of F. D. Mussey is in substantial accord with all the other descriptive accounts of this incident:

> There were two significant incidents of the parade. One was when Governor Foraker came riding up surrounded by his staff and leading the Fourteenth Regiment, and he and President Cleveland saw each other for the first time. As each of the Governors rode by at the head of their State contingents, and followed by their gorgeous staffs, they were liberally applauded. When Foraker came up the situation evidently caught the people and the applause deepened into a tremendous roar and thunder of cheers.
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> Thousands of eyes were on the President as Foraker, . . . on his prancing horse, removed his hat and saluted the President. . . . A moment's hush and then slowly the President's hand went up to his hat and he uncovered, but he did not bow as he did slightly to the other Governors.
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> It is a fact that nobody can deny that no man during the day, including the President himself, was so loudly cheered as Foraker, and next to the greeting given him was the tribute paid Sheridan as he rode by at the head of and in command of the entire parade.

The President was not the only one whom the newspapers were watching. Mrs. Cleveland fairly divided honors with him. They started a gossiping story to the effect that she, who occupied a seat on the balcony of the La Fayette Hotel, triangularly opposite the reviewing stand, as a sign of displeasure turned her back to the procession while the Ohio part of it was passing.

Later in the day I called with my entire staff upon the President and was cordially received by him.

That evening we attended a reception in the Academy of Music, given in honor of Mrs. Cleveland. The President received with her. When Mrs. Foraker and I passed the President he spoke to both of us and shook hands very cordially; but some of the newspapers stated that Mrs. Cleveland found it convenient to turn and chat with some other ladies who were standing near until after both

of us had passed; others said she stiffly bowed, but did not offer to shake hands, as she did with others. I did not know that discourtesy was intended until I saw the different versions of what had occurred exploited in the newspapers.

It may be that Mrs. Cleveland intended to be thus impolite, but I preferred to doubt it. I thought it might have beeen accidental, for I had had enough such experiences to know how easy it is on such occasions for something of that kind to happen.

Whatever the fact may be, neither Mrs. Foraker nor myself suffered seriously on account of it; even from the coarse, unpleasant and impolite comments published in unfriendly newspapers, all of which seemed to assume that, of course, the story as told was strictly true.

They seemed to think that Mrs. Cleveland, then only recently married to the President, was more spirited than he; or, at least, not being under the official restraint that he was under, thought it her duty to show in some way her resentment of what I had seen fit to say about her distinguished husband. Her alleged action was commonly spoken of as a "snub."

New York Lincoln Day Speech.

Before speaking of my nomination for re-election and the campaign that followed, it is in order now to mention that on Lincoln's birthday, the 12th of February, the Republican club of New York gave an annual dinner to which practically all the leading Republicans of the United States—at least of the Eastern and Middle West States —were invited. Mr. Blaine, Senator Sherman, Senator Evarts, were all invited, but they sent regrets. There were, however, an imposing array of other Republican leaders present. Among them Senator, afterward President, Benjamin Harrison of Indiana; Governor Richard J. Oglesby of Illinois; Chauncey M. Depew of New York; all of whom were on the regular speakers' program of the evening.

I had accepted an invitation to respond to the toast: "The Republican Party."

Speaking of the occasion in a general way it was eminently successful. The speeches were all good, especially the speeches made by Senator Harrison, Mr. Depew and Governor Oglesby. My speech came after most of the others had beeen heard. There was nothing pretentious about it. I did not undertake to indulge in any sophomorical sentences, or any flights of oratory; but simply to tell a plain, unvarnished story of the achievements of the Republican party—its great victories, its great men, its great purposes, with a view to showing that while it was out of power it was not out of existence, and that by contrast with Mr. Cleveland's administration, which was then in progress, it appeared to such exceptional and distinct advantage that it would undoubtedly, if only trué to itself, return to power at the next Presidential election.

I closed as follows:

> Republicanism never gained anything in the past by mincing words and compromising attitudes, and it never will gain anything that way in the future. We are too old, have had too much experience, fought too many fights and stand charged with too many grave responsibilities to waste time listening to impracticable teachings about theoreticalisms. Let the long-haired men and the short-haired women go to the rear while the lines move on to victory (applause), and as we go forward let every man defiantly rejoice that he belongs to a party which today, as in the past, represents the loftiest purposes and the noblest ambitions and aspirations of the American people. (Applause.)

The speech was so well received that the New York papers gave it more prominence than they gave to any other speech of the evening. Governor Oglesby, who came after me, took occasion to speak in terms of high compliment of what I had said, and in that connection made some statement that was understood to mean that in his opinion I would be a good candidate for the Republicans to nominate for the Presidency in 1888.

His remarks were so much applauded that the newspaper men not only interpreted the outburst to be in

the nature of approval, but to amount to a decided boom in my behalf.

All this was commented on most elaborately in the morning papers, and these comments were telegraphed all over the country.

By the time I returned to Ohio two or three days later everyone was discussing the possibilities of my nomination. The newspapers throughout the country were doing the same thing.

Pittsburg Grant Speech.

Later, April 27th, I attended a banquet given in Pittsburg by the Americus Club in honor of the anniversary of General Grant's birthday. "Grant" was the theme assigned me. It was impossible to speak justly of his careeer to a Republican audience without exciting great enthusiasm. What had happened at New York a few weeks before paved the way for a repetition of what had happened there. All this was very flattering to me and in that sense gratifying, but it was, nevertheless, embarrassing, and the beginning of trouble.

Sherman Sentiment in Ohio.

I had supported John Sherman for the Presidency in 1884 because I thought he was pre-eminently well qualified for the executive office, and because I thought he was entitled to the support of his own State.

He had in his letters following that convention shown warm friendship and sincere regard for me, both personally and politically. As a result our friendship had been all the while growing stronger. In the campaign of 1885 I had supported him most zealously for re-election to the Senate, where, in the meanwhile, he had been adding to his claims for leadership and to his renown as one of the foremost statesmen of America. Therefore it was that, although I was very friendly to Mr. Blaine, yet, as from time to time, it cropped out from expressions dropped by

Mr. Sherman or his friends, that he probably would be a candidate for the Presidency again in 1888, I felt sympathy with the proposition. In a number of instances where there was occasion to speak on the subject I had so expressed myself.

There was for him at that time in Ohio perhaps a stronger sentiment that he was entitled to a nomination in 1888 than there had been ever before among the Republicans of his own state when, on previous occasions, he had been a candidate, and this was true notwithstanding the popularity of Mr. Blaine was also greater than ever before.

I had no thought whatever of being a candidate against him. I did not even want to be renominated for Governor. It was my preference inasmuch as I had made two campaigns to treat the single term I was serving as a vindication and in accordance with the rule generally obtaining in such matters retire from political and public life in order that I might resume the practice of my profession and make, while I yet had life and strength, some suitable provision for my family, but I had not yet made any public announcement when, shortly before the New York speech, the Cincinnati *Enquirer* published a rather sensational article in which there was set forth a great deal of misinformation, in connection with which it stated that such was my purpose.

This brought the matter to the front so suddenly and promptly that I found it necessary to make some kind of answer and gave out the following:

> The *Enquirer* article is without any foundation except as to the statement that I do not intend to be a candidate again. I did not suppose that was news to anybody. All my friends have known all along that I have never at any time desired a renomination. I prefer to return to my law practice, which needs my attention, and that is all there is about it.

This *Enquirer* article, and my interview in answer to it, started a general discussion in the newspapers which was in progress and at its height at the time of the New

York meeting. Almost without exception the Republican press of the state in the most complimentary manner expressed the hope that I could be prevailed upon to disregard my preference not to be a candidate and accept a renomination.

This seemed to be the desire of the rank and file everywhere throughout the state. On every hand there seemed to be only friendship and good-will.

Chilly Winds Begin to Blow.

But on my return to Columbus from New York it was plainly evident that so far as the most ardent at least of Mr. Sherman's supporters were concerned they were less enthusiastic than they had been. They showed unmistakable signs of cooling off.

The reception accorded me at Pittsburg and the favorable comments with which the newspapers abounded made matters worse, but the climax was reached when the rebel flag incident filled the whole country with a blaze of enthusiastic comment.

It was not long until it was manifest that an effort was being put forth to counteract the effect of the New York and Pittsburg speeches, not in the newspapers so much as by "quietly passing the word down the line." They were disparaged as "exaggerated," and "not meaning anything anyhow," and "undignified," especially the New York speech in which I "had grossly offended good taste by speaking of long-haired men and short-haired women," and as a "premeditated effort to help Mr. Blaine and secure for myself the Vice Presidency," and so on for quantity. Inasmuch as I had committed no offense, except to legitimately and accidentally acquire some special popularity, I was loth to believe what I heard and slow to realize what was going on.

I do not know how many people were at the time discussing the situation with Mr. Sherman and exciting apprehension in his mind that I might become a candidate, but the following letters show that before I had occasion to

think of anything of the kind, he had some anxiety about the situation:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

February 12, 1887.

My Dear Sir:—I cut from the *Enquirer* a paragraph which I hardly think it worth while to notice. Still, I do not like to have such false statements made that affect others without correcting them. As a matter of course the *Enquirer* does not speak for me in any case. I have never said about Major Butterworth what it imputes to me, nor have I in the slightest degree called in question your perfect candor or hesitated to express the utmost confidence in you, which I have done whenever the subject was mentioned in my presence. Tell friend Geghan that he need not bother himself about such reports, or he will be in hot water all the time.

I hope to be able to see you before you make any definite announcement in regard to your candidacy for Governor.

Very sincerely yours,

HON. J. B. FORAKER. JOHN SHERMAN.

February 20th he wrote a mutual friend, the Reverend Robert McMurdy, of Dayton, Ohio, a retired Episcopal clergyman, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

February 20, 1887.

My Dear Sir:—Your note of the 17th is received. I heartily concur with you in your opinion of the relative duties of Gov. Foraker and myself. I read with great pleasure his speech in New York and have repeatedly given it the highest praise. Some days since and before the speech was made I wrote a letter to him, correcting false imputations attributed to me by the *Enquirer,* and urging him not to withdraw from the canvass for Governor. He has a brilliant future before him if he will only await the natural order of events, but his mention for the office of Vice President is not in his interest, but only for the interest of others tending to divide the Republicans of Ohio. If he will steadily pursue the course he has commenced of securing for me a solid and hearty delegation in the National Convention, he will open the way for the highest honors of the country in their due and orderly time. I will cordially assist him in his canvass this fall and can effectively aid him in the future. What we want now is unity and confidence. Nor do I wish any unseemly contest with Blaine. In common with nearly all the leading Republicans in public life, I do not think it wise to press his nomination. Time must be given to heal the asperities and divisions in our ranks. If my nomination would tend to this, then I hope it will be made. If not, some one else should be nominated and I

will cheerfully support the nominee. The short article in the Dayton *Journal* states this position admirably.

Very sincerely yours,

R. McMurdy. John Sherman.

He never said anything to me about not being a candidate for renomination in writing or otherwise except in the last sentence of his letter of February 12th, where he says, "I hope to be able to see you before you make any definite announcement in regard to your candidacy for Governor."

Therefore, he must of necessity have referred to this sentence when in his letter of February 20th to Dr. McMurdy he says: . . "I wrote a letter to him . . . urging him not to withdraw from the canvass for Governor."

His sentence as quoted hardly sustains the statement that he indulged in any "urging," and yet it was soon manifest that quite generally among the men active in support of Mr. Sherman there were many who "urged" me to become a candidate only in the same mild way.

One step followed another. It was soon clear that there was a well defined fear that the "boom" started at New York might develop enough strength to make me a serious competitor, especially if I should be renominated at the approaching state convention.

Factional Lines.

Almost by magic in spite of all that could be done to prevent it, factional lines were drawn between so-called Sherman men and Foraker men.

On all occasions I spoke out unqualifiedly in favor of Senator Sherman's candidacy, and against the consideration of my name in any such connection.

I was in all this perfectly sincere, for while I did not lack appreciation for the distinction of being talked about as a Presidential possibility, yet I had that high regard for Mr. Sherman as a man and that profound respect for him as a statesman of wide experience, thoroughly equipped

for the White House, that I could not, under any circumstances, think of myself as sufficiently qualified and equipped to compete with him for the honor.

As this discussion increased the point was soon reached where I felt compelled, not only for the good of the party, but for my own protection within the party, to yield my consent to become a candidate for re-election as Governor, if a majority of the party continued to insist upon it.

Indorsement of Sherman by State Convention.

This quickly brought the announcement that the friends of Mr. Sherman would demand at the approaching state convention the adoption of a plank in the platform pledging the delegates from Ohio to the next national convention to support Mr. Sherman as Ohio's candidate for the Presidency. The purpose of this was so manifest that nobody could be deceived.

If I should be renominated and re-elected without any such pledge in the platform I might then with propriety become a candidate, and with things going as they were my candidacy might be formidable; but with such a pledge in the platform I would be thereby cut off.

It was shrewd politics to raise the question and force the issue at a time and under circumstances that compelled me to acquiesce, for if I should be the candidate for Governor I could not afford to jeopardize my election by alienating the support of his followers.

So far as cutting myself off from becoming a candidate by agreeing to the adoption of such a resolution I did not care; for I, for reasons already given, preferred to support Mr. Sherman if I might be allowed to do so consistently with my self respect; moreover I did not then know what was to be the course of events, and that I would have a chance when the time came to secure the nomination if left free to seek or accept it. I did not, however, like the proposition.

My objection to it was two-fold. I did not like the idea of being forced under the duress of circumstances

to submit a year in advance to being bound hand and foot so that no matter what might arise I would not have left to me any freedom of choice, either as to myself or anybody else.

In the second place I feared it would hurt the party in the campaign, upon which we were entering. There was always a strong and enthusiastic support for Mr. Blaine among the Republicans of Ohio. It had divided our delegation in 1884. His defeat by a narrow margin unfairly secured had intensified the devotion and largely increased the number of his followers.

The feeling was almost universal among his followers that he was entitled to another chance under circumstances that would insure his election.

To undertake in 1887, a year in advance of the Presidential nominating convention, to pledge Ohio to oppose him, for that was what indorsement of Sherman meant, was calculated, I thought, to offend the Blaine men and make them not only indifferent as to the result of the state election, but actiyely hostile to Mr. Sherman as the cause and thus again divide the delegation to the national convention and thus destroy whatever chance he might otherwise have. Accordingly, when the proposition that he should be indorsed by our state convention was announced, I did not hesitate to express dissent.

I did it kindly and for the reason that I thought it unwise to thus prematurely, as it seemed, undertake to forestall the natural and regular course of events.

At the same time that I announced my opinion that the proposition was unwise for the reason given I also proclaimed my fealty to Mr. Sherman and my willingness to waive my objection to the resolution of indorsement if Mr. Sherman, after full consideration, should still deem its adoption wise and desirable.

I soon discovered that the statement that I would acquiesce if, "after full consideration," Mr. Sherman should still desire the convention to indorse him was a mistake, but having made it I adhered to it with fidelity.

The mistake consisted in the fact that I thus allowed myself to be forced into a position where I was in honor bound to aid in the carrying out of plans that had been adopted, and were afterward carried out, in a spirit of political hostility, accompanied with an offensive manifestation of distrust of the self-denial that would be involved under circumstances that might, and did, arise.

Most of the Republican members of Congress, while in a general way friendly to me, were naturally more friendly to Mr. Sherman, with whom they were associated in the public service at Washington. Mr. Hanna, with whom, since the convention of 1884, I had been on terms of warm friendship, had all the while cherished the hope that our failure then might be made a success in 1888.

Most, also, of the older Sherman newspaper men of the state felt the same way.

Among these was Richard Smith of the *Commercial Gazette*. He had been for a generation personally acquainted with Mr. Sherman and had always been active in his support. He had justly come to regard him as one of the greatest men of the nation, and as one of the wisest and safest of all our great statesmen.

It was hard for him to imagine that anybody else in Ohio could be seriously and honestly preferred to Mr. Sherman, especially a youngster like me who belonged to a later political generation. The mere suggestion was to his notion a sort of political crime.

As it was with Mr. Smith, so it was with many others who, as to everything else, were personally and editorially of friendly disposition.

It might have been impossible, if I had refused to assent to such indorsement, to escape a contest in which all these very strong influences would have been against me, and might have defeated me, although Mr. Sherman said at one time that he would not insist if I continued to dissent, but it seemed unwise and disagreeable to have a contest on such a point when Mr. Sherman was, under all the circumstances, my own preference. Therefore, while I

thought it bad politics, as the sequel showed it was, yet I deemed it best to acquiesce.

My acquiescence was in good faith and I urged all my friends and followers also to acquiesce and conform to that program.

My acquiescence, however, did not end the controversy, but for a time at least rather embittered it; for I had many friends who openly resented the proposition and persisted in arguing against it. This, of course, excited counter statements and arguments. Most of the newspapers were careful and considerate, but Mr. Smith, of the *Commercial Gazette*, published a number of editorials that were based on false premises and were exceedingly offensive.

I had known him for many years. I was not surprised when he showed a disposition to favor Mr. Sherman, for I thought that natural; I favored him myself; but I was surprised when he persisted in making statements that were misrepresentations, and drawing deductions therefrom that were calculated to displease me and all my friends. He stirred up so much bad blood that I finally took the matter up by correspondence with him. At the same time I was in correspondence on the same subject with Mr. Sherman.

I am unable at this late date to find any of my letters from Mr. Smith, except one of July 11th, but in my correspondence with Mr. Sherman the nature of my correspondence with Mr. Smith is sufficiently shown.

During the period prior to the Toledo Convention I met Mr. Sherman at Findlay, Ohio, where we met in attendance upon a celebration of the discovery of natural gas. The character of our conversation is disclosed by what is said in the following correspondence. It will be noted that it was started by a newspaper publication to which Mr. Sherman took exception, but for which I had no responsibility.

It is somewhat peppery, but as I thought then and still think, no more so on my part than the situation justified and demanded.

It shows that throughout the whole matter I acted with entire frankness and with absolute sincerity, and that I was not responsible for any of the misunderstandings that occurred.

SENATE CHAMBER,
Washington, D. C.

May 28, 1887.

My Dear Sir:—As the enclosed letter in the New York *Sun* refers to you and Mr. Blaine as having received letters of mine, I concluded to send it to you. The writer is so unjust and unfair that I would like to learn from you, if possible, his animus if you know him. His statement about my writing letters beseeching people to vote for me is absolutely false, and if any letters of that character have been sent to you, I should like very much to see them. Soon after my return from Springfield I hope we can meet each other and put a stop to such foolish letter writers as Gessner. I know the effect is very injurious, for this letter has been sent to me by many persons in different parts of the State, who have been angered by its tone and contents.

Very truly yours,

HON. J. B. FORAKER. JOHN SHERMAN.

To this I answered:

May 31, 1887.

Dear Senator:—In answer to your letter of the 28th inst. I enclose a clipping from the *Commercial Gazette* of the 26th inst. I can only repeat that I know nothing about Mr. Gessner's telegram, but I think he only meant in a thoughtless way to reproduce the sensational gossip that seems to be in circulation, without other motive than to supply a Democratic newspaper with a readable article.

There has been considerable talk, however, of the character of his letter. I have been greatly annoyed by it, and it was with reference to such stories that I invited you in my last letter to come here after Congress adjourned and be my guest for a day or two. I thought that would be the best way to end it. Inasmuch as you did not make any response to the suggestion, I feared you did not appreciate it. Allow me to renew the invitation, and to add that I think I have a right to an opinion as to what is to your interest, and that it will not harm you to at least listen to it.

I want you to note, however, that I do not wish to obtrude upon you any view I may have about anything, and that I have no personal ends of any kind to serve. Much less do I wish to become in any sense responsible for your cause in Ohio. I shall be quite content to aid it in any way I can, all the while preferring, especially in view of what has been said and done, that its management should remain in the hands to which I understand it has been entrusted.

I may be mistaken, and I hope I am, but I think I detect, in the tone of your letter, that which leads me to add that I have no secrets, about anything, and do not intend to have any, and that I always aim to say

exactly what I mean, and mean precisely what I say, and I will not have anything to do with anybody about anything unless this is conceded in all the fullness and frankness that can be commanded by a complete self-respect.

Very truly yours, etc.,
J. B. Foraker.

Hon. John Sherman,
Mansfield, Ohio.

Mansfield, Ohio, June 4, 1887.

My Dear Governor:—Upon my return from the West last evening I found your letter of the 31st with enclosure. On my way out I saw your remarks about Gessner's telegram, and regretted that I had bothered you about it. It is natural that our Democratic *friends* should try and make coldness between us, but his letter surprised me. As to your invitation to spend a day with you, I suppose, when received I saw that the time for acceptance was remote, and I did not answer for that reason. Now I am at home for most of the summer and very cheerfully accept your invitation. I have two engagements, one to visit Findlay next Wednesday, which will occupy two days—another to visit East Liverpool the week following to see the "Potters." Subject to these, I can call at Columbus at a time most convenient to you. If you go to Findlay I can return with you.

I think it important that we confer freely with each other, and I assure you in advance with the utmost sincerity that I am as anxious for your re-election as any one can be—will do as much or more for that object as any one else, and feel for you a hearty friendship and respect. Though not demonstrative, I have from our first acquaintance felt that you would be my natural associate and successor, and wish frankly and loyally to speak and act with a view to preserve the most cordial and friendly relations. When I hear from you again I will fix a time for a visit to you, or you may name a date subject to the engagements stated.

Very sincerely yours,
John Sherman.

Gov. J. B. Foraker.

Before Mr. Sherman had a chance to visit me as suggested I received from him the following:

Mansfield, Ohio, June 28, 1887.

My Dear Sir:—I have just read a ridiculous and foolish story in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* of today, containing a pure invention of a conversation at Canton which never occurred. Hardly worth while to so advise you, but, as I leave in an hour or two, to be absent most of this week, I thought it better to do so. My visit was a social and agreeable one, and there was nothing of the kind talked by anyone.

Very truly yours,
John Sherman.

Hon. J. B. Foraker.

I had seen the article and supposed it was a fabrication, for it did not seem possible such things as were stated could be true. I answered accordingly:

July 5, 1887.

My Dear Senator:—You need not have bothered yourself to write me about the article in the *Plain Dealer.* I knew there was no truth in it, and did not give it a thought.

Capt. Donaldson showed me a letter from you a few days ago in regard to your attendance at the State Convention. He asked me to write you my view of the matter as to whether you should attend or not.

I yesterday saw Gen. Grosvenor, who told me he would see you last night. I told him to tell you I thought if I were in your place I should attend the Convention. I do not think it possible for anything to arise that can occasion any embarrassment to you. There may be here and there a few demonstrations like that at Lima *(where a resolution to endorse Mr. Sherman had been defeated)* but I think we should expect as much, and the best way to deal with such matters is to simply go straight along in the ordinary way.

Hoping, therefore, to see you at the Convention, if not sooner, I remain, Very truly yours,

J. B. Foraker.

P. S.—I would write you more at length about the general situation but for the fact that I talked fully with Gen. Grosvenor yesterday, and he has no doubt acquainted you with all that I would otherwise speak of.

Hon. John Sherman,
Mansfield, Ohio.

Mansfield, Ohio, July 9, 1887.

My Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 5th is received.

I will attend the State Convention as a delegate from Richland County.

I am a good deal annoyed with the incident at Lima and some things that have occurred, and feel quite at a loss to know what is best to be done. To recede in the face of the attacks that are being made seems cowardly, but I will be governed by prudence and discretion, and certainly do not wish to do anything that will embarrass you.

Very truly yours,

Hon. J. B. Foraker. John Sherman.

In answer to a letter received about that time from the Honorable Richard Smith, I wrote him as follows:

Hon. Rich'd Smith, Columbus, Ohio, July 11, 1887.
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—Answering your letter I can only repeat what I have said to Senator Sherman and all others who have spoken to me on the

subject, viz.: that I do not think such a resolution as you suggest should be introduced. It is premature and can have no other effect than to excite oppositon that will hurt both Sherman and the party. Of course, I may be wrong about this, but nevertheless it is my opinion, and I therefore give it as such for what it may be worth. I have talked this whole matter over with Sherman, and I understand him to fully agree with me.

I hope to be in the city in a few days and will then try to see you.

Hastily, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.

On receipt of this letter Mr. Smith forwarded it to Mr. Sherman, who thereupon wrote him the letter hereinafter appearing dated July 13th (page 263), practically taking issue with me as to the facts I had stated about the understanding between Mr. Sherman and myself. In the meanwhile I had again written Mr. Sherman the following:

Hon. John Sherman, July 13, 1887.
Mansfield, Ohio.

My Dear Senator:—I have been away several days, but came home in time to meet here yesterday and last evening with Judge Thompson. He told me he had been to Mansfield and that you are now of the opinion that your interests require the adoption by the Toledo Convention of a resolution indorsing you as the candidate for the Presidency next year of the Republicans of Ohio. I do not know what has led you to change your mind from what I understood it to be when I last talked with you. It was my understanding of that conversation that you agreed with me that it would not be wise to introduce such a resolution into the Convention unless it seemed the practically unanimous wish of the body. In other words, that any considerable opposition would have a prejudicial effect upon your candidacy; and that in lieu of the resolution of endorsement of you as our candidate, we should adopt a resolution of compliment and confidence, etc., as our Senator, such as would show the feeling of the great majority of the people for you without creating any disappointment and precipitating any kind of conflict. Not knowing just what has brought you to a different conclusion I can not judge satisfactorily of the matter and being without that knowledge, I remain of the same opinion I have entertained all the while.

But, nevertheless, if you have definitely determined what you wish about the matter, I shall not offer any opposition. I think this a matter of grave importance to you, and all I desire is that you will give it consideration, accordingly. Judge Thompson urges that such action be taken on the ground that non-action is equivalent to a refusal to endorse you, and on the further ground that the opposition which such a resolution would meet with is not likely to be sufficiently large to prejudice you, and then rounds up the whole matter with the declaration that if your candidacy is to be broken down by a divided delegation from

this state, it might as well be broken down now as a year later. I have no patience with that kind of talk and I can not understand how men who are acquainted with the real sentiments of the Republicans of Ohio can entertain such views. I only know that it seems to me that non-action this year can not be interpreted to your prejudice. Many of the men who think it should not be done are among your most honest and sincere friends, and at least the most trustworthy.

Any man who knows anything at all about the political sentiment of this state knows that if there is any opposition at all to this resolution, it will be spirited and determined and sufficiently large, not to be despised.

My impression is that it will be large enough to practically destroy your candidacy, and the idea that you may as well be killed off this year as next year, is nonsense. By another year every difficulty may be out of your way. It is my impression that good management would allay opposition, and give you a practically solid delegation. Whether my views please you or not, they are honest and unprejudiced, and they are spoken in the sincerest friendship and without regard to any personal interests whatever. Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.

On the same date Mr. Sherman wrote Mr. Smith:

Mansfield, Ohio, July 13, 1887.

My Dear Sir:—Your note of the 12th is received. I have read Governor Foraker's letter which I return to you. We had a conversation at Findlay in which he expressed the opinion that it was ill-advised to have a resolution introduced, *but I certainly did not assent to it and am sorry he got that impression.* I feel deeply interested in the nomination and election of Foraker, as I regard his success as vitally necessary to the Republican cause, and, whatever may be the action of the Convention on the nomination next year, he will receive my earnest and active support. I have no objection to your showing him this letter.

The difficulty I labor under is that a contest has now been made, not by me, as to the choice of Ohio for President. It is neither right nor just that I should allow my name to be used as a candidate for President while there is any doubt about the position of Ohio on that subject. I have been so kindly treated by the Republicans of Ohio that I do not wish to embarrass them, nor would I seek for or accept a nomination without their general support. While that is in doubt, I ought not to be held up as a candidate. I am constantly asked about the position of Ohio, and I can only answer I don't know. This is not at all pleasant, and I would far prefer to be advised that the Republicans of Ohio prefer someone else, or that it is a matter of doubt. In either event my name ought to be withdrawn. I would not go through such scenes as I did in 1880, caused mainly by the division in the Ohio delegation, for all the offices in the world. It is cruel for me to suffer a year's agony when the position of Ohio is in doubt. If we could have a fair square vote upon some such resolution as that

you indicated, then Republicans outside of Ohio would know what course to pursue. Such a vote I desire, whatever may be the result.

Very truly yours,

HON. RICHARD SMITH. JOHN SHERMAN.

This letter was forwarded to me by Mr. Smith, and reached me by the same mail that brought me directly from Mr. Sherman the following:

MANSFIELD, OHIO, July 14, 1887.

My Dear Sir:—Your note of the 13th is received, and I assure you I appreciate your kindness and have no doubt of your sincere friendship, and will always vouch and commend your manly frankness. It is true that when I saw you at Findlay and you stated objections to the policy of a resolution, *I concurred with you in opinion that it ought not to be offered unless with substantial unanimity,* stating at the same time that I was tired to death with inquiries about how Ohio would stand, and constant assertions made by Republicans in public prints that I would not be supported in Ohio. Since I saw you I met this in New York and Pennsylvania, accompanied with sneering remarks about the course of Republicans in Ohio, exceedingly offensive to me, and I, therefore, am frank to say to you that, under the circumstances, I would rather be absolutely beaten and have the matter ended forever than to undergo the torture of such suggestions. I assure you with the frankness that is due to you, that I do not feel the strong desire for the nomination that induced me to make the fruitless effort in 1880. The Republicans of Ohio have honored me so much that I do not feel like trespassing upon their good will or causing them embarrassment or division. If they really want me to be a candidate for President I should have the benefit of that desire. If not, or if there is a doubt about it, I ought not to encourage personal friends in other states who profess friendship and offer assistance to be complicated in a losing cause.

If I were persuaded that the course I suggest would weaken to the slightest extent your vote for re-election, I would forego this decision, for I assure you I regard your election as vitally important and wish in every way to promote it. If this controversy about me will in your judgment endanger your election, I will at once waive it and put it on that ground, or if a majority of my friends should be of the same opinion as that suggested by Bickham and Hopley, I will at once defer to their wishes, but, after what has been said about the Allen County squabble and other such divisions, I feel that it is due to my friends in other States to have the precise extent of the division in Ohio known, so that they may not be misled by false hopes here. I do not wish Judge Thompson or anybody else held responsible for any results that may come in consequence of my desire to have a definite resolution offered and adopted or rejected, nor do I wish to embarrass you with this controversy to your injury or the injury of the Republican cause.

Very sincerely yours,

HON. J. B. FORAKER. JOHN SHERMAN.

Mr. Sherman's two letters, one to Mr. Smith and the other to myself, reaching me at the same time and being, as I thought, inconsistent, if not contradictory, coupled with what Mr. Smith was from day to day publishing in his paper, "riled" me somewhat, and I wrote Mr. Sherman as follows:

HON. JOHN SHERMAN, July 16, 1887.
Mansfield, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—I have your letter of the 14th inst., also one by same mail from Mr. Richard Smith, enclosing your letter to him of the 13th inst., in which you say, referring to me, "We had a conversation at Findlay, in which he, (I) expressed the opinion that it was ill-advised for the resolution to be introduced, but, I (you) certainly did not assent to it," etc.

I am surprised to think that there should be such a difference between your recollection and mine as to what was agreed upon at Findlay, and I was especially surprised when after first reading your letter to Mr. Smith, I next read your letter to me written the following day, but received in the same mail, in which you say, speaking of the same matter, that "you concurred with me that it, (the resolution) ought not to be offered, unless with substantial unanimity," etc. I can now understand why Mr. Smith has apparently misunderstood my relation to this matter, and why, in consequence, he has said some things very offensive to me in some of his recent editorials. I trust you will concede the propriety of my asking you to correct his misunderstanding of our understanding at Findlay. In the meanwhile I will observe, as closely as I can, the progress of events, and consider carefully what should be done.

I stop now only to assure you that I do not wish you to change your program from what you regard as best calculated to promote your interests because of any actual or possible effect upon me personally, I remain

Very truly yours,
J. B. FORAKER.

This is the only letter I ever wrote you that might be said to be not entirely frank. I have not said all I feel like saying although I have waited a day. J. B. F.

Several other letters of like character passed between us before everything was "ironed out," but they are not any longer of enough interest or importance to justify reproduction. It is sufficient to say they were not offensive enough to fracture our friendship, although they did for a few days strain it somewhat.

CHAPTER XIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1887.

TAKING up now the thread of political events in Ohio; the Democratic State Convention was held at Cleveland, July 21st. That convention nominated Thomas E. Powell as the Democratic candidate for Governor. I had known Mr. Powell ever since when, immediately after the war, I became a student in the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, in which city he at that time resided. He was then a Republican and I became acquainted with him when at the Presidential election I went to the ballot box to vote for General Grant. My vote was challenged on the ground that I was not a resident of that place, but there only temporarily as a student. I was asserting my right to vote there because of a statute then recently passed by the Ohio legislature authorizing students to vote at the place where the institution upon which they were in attendance was located. Mr. Powell, then a Republican and a practicing lawyer of that city, successfully defended my right to vote. In this way I became acquainted with him and, in a way, indebted to him for an important favor which I had never forgotten and on account of which my regard for him had always been of the most friendly character. He was both a very worthy and a very able man. In his speech of acceptance, made to the convention that nominated him, he arraigned my administration with great severity and took me to task personally for a number of criticisms I had made in public speeches of President Cleveland. I had criticised him for ordering the flag displayed at half-mast on the occasion of the death of Jacob Thompson, who had been Secretary of the Interior under Buchanan, but had promptly gone into the secession movement with his State and who had distin-

guished himself during the war by organizing in Canada a movement to distribute clothing infected with yellow fever germs among the most important cities of the North. I had, also, criticised him for declining to make any remarks on the battlefield of Gettysburg, when he made an official visit there during the first year of his administration, and I had especially criticised him for the unfeeling character of his vetoes of private pension bills, and more particularly still for his fishing on Decoration Day and his attempt to return the rebel flags to the Confederate States. Mr. Powell criticised all these matters as trivial, unimportant, and my mention of them as demagogic. In his defense of Mr. Cleveland he indulged in extravagant eulogies, saying, among other things, that he had "more conscience and more courage than any President since Andrew Jackson."

Toledo Convention—1887.

Our Convention was held a week later, July 28th, at Toledo. The question of indorsing Mr. Sherman, and the spirit of loyalty and patriotism that had been aroused among Republicans because of these actions of Mr. Cleveland had the effect of making that Convention the most largely attended and the most enthusiastic ever held in Ohio, either before or since.

Before the assembling of the delegates there had been much talk in the different parts of the State about open opposition to the proposed resolution indorsing Mr. Sherman. In the Allen county convention such a resolution had been defeated by a vote of three to one. For a day or two preceding the convention while delegates and visitors were assembling in Toledo there was a good deal of such talk, but not so much as had been anticipated.

The Toledo *Blade*, the strongest Republican newspaper in Northwestern Ohio, was openly antagonistic and during the days when the convention was assembling it published a number of very strong opposition editorials; but when the delegates were practically all assembled it was found

that we were not to have any serious differences and dissensions, but that, on the contrary, there would be substantial unanimity in favor of indorsement, and that a resolution such as was desired by Mr. Sherman could, therefore, be secured if not unanimously at least by an overwhelming majority.

The Honorable James Boyle, afterward the secretary to Governor McKinley, and later Consul General of the United States at Liverpool by appointment of President McKinley, was in attendence upon the convention as a correspondent for the *Commercial Gazette*.

At the close of the first day of the convention, July 27th, he sent the following telegram to his paper, which was, no doubt, an accurate description of the measure of opposition of the committee on resolutions when the time for action finally came:

> At about 11 o'clock P. M. the Grosvenor resolution indorsing Sherman was unanimously adopted by the committee by a rising vote. Not a word or syllable has been changed.
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> There have been bushels of lies telegraphed to Democratic and anti-Sherman papers during the last few days, and the wires have been made hot tonight telling how the committee is equally divided. The truth is that from the moment the committee met the strength stood: Sherman indorsement, 17; no indorsement, 4;—reference being had, of course, to the Grosvenor resolution. The four votes in the negative were Graydon of Hamilton county; Parks of Lucas; Munson of Muskingum; and McKinley of Stark.
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> The attempt of the four gentlemen named was to substitute the Munson resolution—simply indorsing Sherman as a Senator, for the Grosvenor resolution, indorsing Sherman as a Presidential candidate. Failing that, the four attempted to emasculate the Grosvenor resolution, the idea being to have it go forth that a change had been made, but the chairman stood as firm as a rock. Finally the four gave in. Dr. Graydon moved to accept the Grosvenor resolution, and it was agreed to unanimously by a rising vote.

It will be noted that one of the four members of the committee opposed to the resolution of indorsement was William McKinley, Jr.

In the same dispatch Mr. Boyle says, "there are several gentlemen on the committee on resolutions known to be of the opinion that indorsement is unwise. Among these are Munson of Muskingum, and McKinley of Stark."

I quote this to show not only McKinley's attitude with respect to the proposed indorsement, but also to show that he yielded his opposition only at the last moment, and then under the compulsion of an overwhelming majority against him.

Mr. Boyle might have specified, as one of these other gentlemen, Governor Foster, who wrote me only a few days before the Convention—July 24th—that Sherman's action in asking for an indorsement "was against my judgment expressed in writing . . . I fear it will be regarded by the Blaine people as a challenge to them and that some districts next year will send Blaine delegates—but I hope for the best."

Nobody ever questioned on this or any other account the loyalty to Sherman in this contest of Governor Foster. He was of the inner circle.

No one in Ohio politics at that time was closer to me than General A. S. Bushnell, at that time Quartermaster General on my staff, and later, with such help as I could give him, Governor of the State. He is quoted in the press dispatches as saying, in his frank, hearty way that "Such a resolution ought to pass without a dissenting vote. Senator Sherman is a great man and a staunch Republican. Let us indorse him cordially, freely and enthusiastically."

Scores of interviews on the subject with the leading Republicans of the state were published. Very few of those who were known to be close friends, if any at all, I do not now remember a single one, expressed himself as opposed to indorsement, but on the contrary, all with greater or less emphasis expressed themselves about as General Bushnell did.

In other words, the Sherman and Foraker factional lines that had been drawn, and for a time threatened a contest in the Convention, with possible bad effects upon the campaign, had practically disappeared; in fact had entirely disappeared so far as my immediate political friends and supporters were concerned. Judge King of

Youngstown, General Munson of Zanesville, and a number of others, most of them distinguished leaders of the Blaine men, still expressed dissatisfaction, but no one claimed that I had any responsibility for them.

Mr. Sherman attended the convention as a delegate from his county, as he had written me he would in his letter of July 9, 1887, hereinbefore quoted.

His reception was of the most enthusiastic, heart-warming character. So much so that it was exceedingly gratifying to him; and he did not hesitate to so express himself in a number of short, felicitous speeches he made in response to some serenades with which he was honored.

My reception was equally enthusiastic. The battleflag incident was then uppermost in everyone's mind, and apparently everyone, delegates and alternates, and those who were mere onlookers—all alike—were wearing badges that bore my picture with the celebrated dispatch, "No rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor," printed underneath.

Mr. Sherman being the most distinguished delegate in the convention it was natural to think of him for the office of permanent chairman, to which he was unanimously chosen when that order of business was reached.

As indicated in Mr. Boyle's dispatch, already given, the committee reported favorably the resolution of indorsement that had been offered by General Grosvenor.

The platform framed by the committee, including this resolution, was reported by Governor Foster.

When this resolution was reached the Convention responded with loud and long continued demonstrations of approval. The platform including the resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote. Mr. Sherman was visibly affected.

In view of the resolution of indorsement he had vacated the chair as presiding officer and had called upon the Honorable Daniel J. Ryan to act as temporary chairman while the platform was being read and acted upon. He resumed the chair after Mr. Ryan announced that the resolution had been unanimously adopted.

He spoke of the action of the convention in the most feeling manner. He said, and no doubt truthfully, for he seemed to mean every word he uttered, that he appreciated it given in the way in which it was given more highly than he could appreciate even the Presidency itself.

When nominations were in order I was nominated by acclamation. For the third time I was waited upon by a committee, of which William McKinley, Jr., was a member, and escorted to the convention to accept the nomination.

The veteran newspaper correspondent and political convention reporter, Fred D. Mussey, was present and in his account of the proceedings at this point said:

> Governor Foraker fairly shared the honors of the day with Mr. Sherman, and his speech was a trumpet call to the party. The applause and cheers after he got fairly started were so constant and tremendous that some of his best and most telling sentences were lost to the general audience, and were only preserved through the jumping and perspiring efforts of the stenographers.

The Honorable James Boyle in his account said:

> It is no ordinary compliment paid to Ohio's brilliant and gallant Governor. This re-nomination came about by the spontaneous and unanimous approval of his administration.
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> Three times has J. B. Foraker stood before a State Republican Convention to accept a nomination for the high office of Governor, and the greetings on this, the third time, showed that the more the people see him and the more they know of him the more ardent is their admiration for him.
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> His speech of acceptance thrilled his vast audience. It was bold, dashing and aggressive; it bristled with keen-edged sarcasm; solid facts gave it strength, and eloquence gave such a charm and infatuation to the speech that everybody listened with rapt attention from the first word to the last.

Similar reports were published in all Republican papers, both inside and outside Ohio.

My speech of acceptance was a direct answer to the arraignment made by General Powell a week before in his speech of acceptance at Cleveland. If it had point and force and carried conviction and aroused enthusiasm, as

all seemed to agree it did, it was because the remarks of my opponent were such as to invite all that I said. The speech is too long to be here quoted, but it is in order to say that it met with such acceptance, not only by the convention to which it was addressed, but by all Republicans throughout the state, that it aroused an enthusiasm that started the campaign off with every promise of that successful result which followed at the election.

While there was no joint debate between the candidates as there had been in 1885, yet there was a partial equivalent furnished by an exciting impromptu debate with Governor Wilson of West Virginia, at Wheeling, August 26th.

There were no stenographers present to make an accurate report of what was said, but there were plenty of newspaper men who furnished descriptive accounts. These differed somewhat, but the following published in the Cadiz *Republican*, a weekly newspaper, and one of the most reliable in the state, covers the episode with substantial accuracy:

A Fiery Political Debate in Wheeling.

The great reunion of the Army of West Virginia, including the old soldiers mainly from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, was held at Wheeling last week—August 22nd to August 26th. It was a great success. There was a tremendous crowd. The two great days were Thursday and Friday. The principal feature on Thursday was the parade of the business industries of Wheeling, and the main attraction on Friday was the parade of the soldiers.

A large number of distinguished men were present, including the Governors of Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia, ex-President Hayes, and many distinguished officers of the army. There was a tent that held twenty thousand people, and there was any quantity of eloquent speeches appropriate to a reunion of soldiers, and plenty of patriotic music, and everything passed off very pleasantly with one or two exceptions.

Across the street in front of the office of the *Register*, the Democratic paper of Wheeling, a banner was stretched bearing a portrait of Grover Cleveland and a motto, "God Bless Our President, Grover Cleveland, the Commander of the Army and Navy."

This banner was placed where the soldiers would have to pass under it on the direct line of the parade. The editor of the *Register* boasted that, although the Grand Army members had refused to go to St. Louis to parade before Grover Cleveland, they should march under his banner at Wheeling.

All recognized the fact as a studied insult by a few Democratic leaders of Wheeling, but the Grand Army officers all advised that no

attention should be paid to it, but that the procession should march straight along without giving the banner any notice whatever. This was the conclusion of the managers, but all the same when the boys of the Grand Army procession came to the obnoxious banner they filed off to one side and marched around it, and there was no authority in Wheeling, or elsewhere, that could make them march under it.

This fact inevitably introduced politics into the otherwise harmonious proceedings of the reunion and there was a good deal of feeling developed. The Democrats were mad at what they called an insult to the President, and the soldiers were grieved that an insult of this kind should have been forced on them in the city to which they had been invited to hold their reunion.

But the feeling for a time was kept suppressed. The Republican orators would not refer to the matter in any of their speeches during the day and the Democratic orators dared not. All outwardly was harmonious until the reunion was concluded, and all formal proceedings had been dismissed.

There was still a great crowd in the city. After supper on Friday evening it was known that Governor Foraker of Ohio, Governor Beaver of Pennsylvania, Governor Wilson of West Virginia, Gen. Gibson of Ohio, and a number of other distinguished orators were at the McClure House and the Union Veteran League of Pennsylvania, with a splendid band of music, came to serenade them.

The street in front of the McClure House was packed with people and there were calls for the speakers. The first to come forward was Governor Beaver, who came on his one leg and crutches and spoke from the balcony of the hotel. There was no word of politics in his speech. He was followed by Governor Foraker, who spoke for about ten minutes, thanking the serenaders, complimenting the soldiers and congratulating all, that although coming from different states, they were all alike at home because under the same flag and in the Union they had saved.

When Governor Foraker sat down Governor Wilson was introduced. But instead of making such a speech as Governor Beaver and Governor Foraker had made he proceeded to discuss the relative merits of the blue and the gray. He claimed that the gray were brave and heroic, and that they fought for what they honestly believed to be right, and then said that, so far as he was concerned, and those for whom he spoke, the men who wore the gray were entitled to as much honor as the men who wore the blue.

There was loud applause of this by a large crowd of citizens who had gathered, and to this applause the old soldiers naturally expressed dissent.

One of them called out to know if the men who wore the gray were not traitors.

To this Governor Wilson answered at considerable length, arguing that they were not, because of what they had been taught to believe the constitution meant, and because they had acted by whole communities.

The effect of such a speech on an audience composed largely of old soldiers can better be imagined than described. Still there was a large

number in the crowd who sympathized with Wilson, and the situation really seemed a little dangerous. The excitement was high, and there were loud calls for other speakers.

Gen. Gibson came to the front and made an eloquent talk of about five minutes, in which he declared that one side in the war was right and the other wrong, and that the Union veterans were not to be classed on a level with those who had fought to destroy the government.

Then the crowd grew clamorous for Foraker, and finally he went forward and talked to them again, calmly and courteously. He said that we were as anxious to have fraternal feeling now as we were during the war to save the Union—but that it must be based on a recognition of the results of the war—that while we were as ready as Governor Wilson to ascribe bravery and honest convictions to the men who wore the gray, yet we did not propose to forget that they were in rebellion against the government, seeking its overthrow, and trying to establish another government and flag planted on the institution of human slavery. That, in his opinion, the war was wicked and unjustifiable, and that it would be unjust to the cause of the Union and the brave men who had died for it to say that the men who wore the gray were entitled to be held in equal esteem with the men who had worn the blue.

Governor Foraker's remarks were greeted with tremendous cheers by the Union soldiers and by groans and cat-calls from the other side.

As soon as he closed Governor Wilson again came to the front and shocked his own party friends, as well as everybody else, by commencing to talk about the Republicans and Democrats and charged, among other things, that one object of the old soldiers was to dragoon Democratic soldiers of West Virginia into voting the Republican ticket. He then went on at great length and with apparent bad temper to charge the Republican party with being a sectional party, always waving the bloody shirt and stirring up strife. He said Republicans were always ringing the changes on the war, and saying the South was wrong and demanding that they get down on their knees and beg forgiveness.

He then entered upon a eulogy of himself, saying that he was a Union man—just as open and pronounced a Union man, not only now, but during the war, as Governor Foraker was. Some one called out to him to know if he was in the army. He answered, "no," saying he was too young to enlist but that he had done as much in that respect as Governor Foraker.

His speech was, from beginning to end, a brazen Democratic speech in which he defended the South for seceding and rebelling; arguing that, according to their interpretation of the Constitution, they had a right to do so and that they ought not to be called rebels.

He wound up by saying the people of the South love the Union and the Constitution, and that it was a matter of pride for him to recall that, whether in West Virginia or Massachusetts, he was still in the Union, under the flag of the United States.

He had no sooner retired than Governor Foraker was again called for. By this time excitement had reached a high pitch. A tremen-

dous crowd had gathered, and as Foraker stepped to the front he was greeted with cheer after cheer.

He commenced by saying that he had never before, at any one of the many reunions he had attended, heard the words "Republican" and "Democrat" used as Governor Wilson had used them. He had never before heard a word of politics at any reunion or at any meeting of any kind of the members of the G. A. R.

He said their organization was not political, and their reunions were not such. There were hundreds of Democratic soldiers present who would so testify. He denied, therefore, that the soldiers who had come to this reunion had ever thought of such a thing as affecting one way or another the politics of the soldiers of West Virginia. He said that one thing it might be proper to say, however, in view of what had been said, was that the men who wore the blue, whether Democrats or Republicans, did not admit that the right of secession was a political or any other kind of a question. That it was once a question, but it had been shot to death by the armies of the republic.

In short, all the questions involved in the war were settled, and settled forever; and we were a unit in our determination to keep them so. In speaking, therefore, of what had beeen accomplished in settling those questions, we did not regard ourselves as talking politics; and, therefore, he did not refer to matters of that kind when he said politics were never discussed at soldiers' reunions or by Grand Army men.

But now politics had been introduced here, and introduced in such a way and by a gentleman of such representative character that he felt called upon to make answer to what had been said. He then proceeded to make the fur fly. He talked for about one hour, until compelled to quit to take his train home, the audience all the while increasing in size and enthusiasm, until the streets were literally packed in every direction. Almost every sentence called forth ringing applause and the wildest cheering.

It was well said that no such scene was ever witnessed in Wheeling. The Bourbon Democracy got more solid truth than they ever heard before. He reviewed the ante-war questions, the origin of the doctrine of secession, the infamy of slavery which it was intended to perpetuate, and pointed out the infamous and unhallowed character of the war; that it was useless, without any justification whatever, and against the judgment and advice of Alex. H. Stephens and such men, and how by suppression of free speech and by violence and fraud all Union sentiment was drowned out, and state after state was carried into rebellion.

He spoke of how the North had conceded demand after demand made by the South, no matter how unreasonable, in order that peace and union might be maintained, and pictured how Webster and Clay had argued and appealed in vain, but said the only effect of it seemed to be to cause the South to believe that the people of the North would not fight, and if they did one southern man could whip five of them.

He then described the outbreak of the war, the uprising of the North, and the struggles, trials, hardships and sacrifice of life and treasure that followed.

He graphically portrayed the surrender of Lee, and pointed out how completely broken and helpless the people of the South were and how they had causelessly brought their distress and destitution upon themselves, and then pointed out how generously Grant and the whole North had dealt with them.

We asked nothing more than that they would accept the situation and go home and behave themselves, and help in good faith, to work out the prosperity and destiny that were in store for us.

He then referred to the enfranchisement of the blacks and the consequent increase of political power, and how, instead of allowing every man to exercise his right of suffrage as he saw fit they had proceeded to organize Ku Klux Klans, red shirt companies, rifle clubs and white leagues, and with the shotgun and the bull whip and all kinds of violence, ballot box stuffing and fraud in the name and in behalf of the Democratic party had made the South solid.

He pointed out that all this was in direct violation of the results of the war, and in bad faith; and yet it had been patiently endured, but would not be much longer. He pointed out that in all the loyal States the parties were both freely and fully represented and every man free to vote his sentiments, while in the South sectionalism existed in its most odious form by reason of the absolute suppression of the Republican Party.

He then came down to the present time and said we were told that because the war had been over twenty years we should not refer to the South as wrong in that struggle. We must have so much consideration for their feelings that we must "put our hands on our mouths, and our mouths in the dust," and keep silent; while Henry Watterson called the old soldiers a lot of paupers and tramps, and General Sheridan was ordered to "keep out of the Shenandoah valley or bring his rations with him."

He appealed to Governor Wilson to know if he had protested against such insults; if not, why not, when he was so intensely interested in avoiding the prejudice and bitterness of sectionalism.

He then said the soldiers were "tramps," but not in the sense the word was used by Watterson. They were tramps, however, in the sense that they had tramped across Kentucky down into Tennessee and over the battlements of Donelson. They had tramped down to Vicksburg and over Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge and the hills and valleys of Georgia. They had tramped from Atlanta to the sea and through the Carolinas.

They had tramped through the Wilderness down to Richmond, Petersburg and Appomattox. In fact they had gone wherever they had undertaken to go, and they carried the flag of the Union with them in triumph regardless of how many rebels stood in the way; and not only had they tramped around in that way then, but they had got so in the habit of going where they pleased, they proposed to go to the Shenandoah valley, to Wheeling, Richmond, or any other place in the South, and wherever they went, as they took the flag with them in war, they would take their mouths with them in peace.

He said that so far as personal records were concerned he preferred not to speak, but in view of what Governor Wilson had said about

being too young to enlist, it might not be out of the way for him to state that he had just been informed that Governor Wilson was now forty-five years old, and if so he was four years older than he was, and he was old enough to enlist and be in thirteen battles of the war before he was nineteen years old.

Referring to Wilson's eulogy of President Cleveland, and his denunciation of the soldiers for not wanting to march under the banner with his picture on it, he said he was not at all displeased to see the banner, that on the contrary he was greatly pleased to see at least the inscription on the banner, "God bless the President."

He said he gladly joined in that prayer, and hoped the Almighty would pour out His blessings upon him in the most bountiful manner; and he especially hoped He would bless him with a quickened intelligence, a purified heart, and a higher and more appropriate appreciation than he appeared to have for the services and sacrifices of the brave men who had saved the government of which he is the head.

The effect of Governor Foraker's speech could not be imagined by those who were not present. The great crowd were literally held spell-bound by his eloquence, and by the time he was through both Governor Wilson and all the fiery Democratic opposition in the crowd were crushed and dismayed, while the cheers of the Union soldiers overwhelmed and drowned out every other sound. The debate had continued until almost twelve o'clock, midnight, and the meeting by its intensity of feeling and almost uncontrollable excitement had overshadowed in importance all else that had occurred at the reunion.

A carriage was now ready to take Governor Foraker to the train and he hastily seized his grip-sack and drove off amidst cheers, and then the crowd dispersed.

Campaign Enthusiasm.

This debate increased the interest in my campaign, and in consequence the size of my meetings, which surpassed anything ever witnessed in a state campaign—only the Harrison Presidential campaign of 1840 could be compared to it. It was no unusual thing to have as many as ten thousand people present at an ordinary county meeting, and a very unusual thing to have less than five thousand people at any meeting anywhere.

At no time since the rebellion closed has there been such a wave of patriotic sentiment sweeping over the state as was then felt everywhere. All looked upon the campaign as the beginning of the battle of 1888, and realized that as Ohio went in 1887 the nation would in all probability go in 1888.

The Wheeling debate, the Gettysburg memorial exercises and the Philadelphia centennial celebration and the many interesting and patriotic descriptions of these events, with a full account of the "snub," that were published throughout the state as a mere matter of news, were widely read and much talked about. They had an arousing effect upon the great masses of the people. They whetted their desire to hear Cleveland "flayed," and they expected me to do it. I knew what they wanted, and what I thought the case demanded and considered it my duty to meet these requirements.

All that Mr. Powell said in his arraignment of my administration was so easily and so conclusively answered that I did not find it necessary to waste much time in self defense.

What I said at the Toledo Convention in my speech of acceptance was sufficient.

The people wouldn't listen to him when he talked further on that subject, and so far as those matters were concerned they didn't need or care to again hear from me. They wanted "hot stuff" and plenty of it.

Middletown Speech.

One of my meetings was held at Middletown on the first day of October. It was advertised to be held in a large hall—the largest in the city—but long before the hour for the meeting to assemble the hall and the entrances to it were so crowded that it was impossible for me to reach the audience to address it. A dry goods box was placed on the side of the street opposite the hall where the meeting was to have been held. The audience was notified that the meeting would be held there. There was no attempt made to provide seats—everybody stood. The crowd assembled was so large and so dense as to completely occupy the street as far as my voice would reach. The enthusiasm was so great that it could scarcely be exaggerated. The speech I made was stenographically reported and, although very long, published in full.

It is sufficient to say of it that it almost bankrupted both me and the committee to publish it in pamphlet form and in sufficient quantity to supply the demand that came for it from every part of the country.

Over 300,000 copies were in this way distributed, and yet there was an unsupplied demand to which we were unable to respond. Although I spoke for more than two hours it can be safely said that the audience was larger when I quit than when I commenced.

I covered all the questions—state and national—involved in the campaign, but I quote only in part what I said about Mr. Cleveland. I insert that as a sort of historical record that shows the blazing spirit of patriotism and Republicanism that filled the minds of the people who listened and then voted.

CLEVELAND AND THE SOUTH.

But I am not done with Mr. Cleveland. I have something to say now about some of his official and public acts. (A voice: "Give it to him.") In my Caldwell speech I said that when he became President amicable relations were rapidly gaining ground between the North and the South, and that the good will which was growing was based on a recognition and acceptance of the results of the war, and that it was therefore calculated to continue and be permanent, and soon extinguish all difference that might yet exist, but that an apparent change had been wrought in the minds of many people—particularly at the South—and that this was evidenced by declarations from public men, ranging all the way from Jeff. Davis to Henry Watterson; that it is now a common thing to hear Union soldiers spoken of as "tramps," "paupers," "pension grabbers," etc. I then pointed out that this change was due to the policy that has been pursued by Mr. Cleveland ever since he became President; that he has appeared to be trying to show, by a line of public acts, that the treason and rebellion of 1861-5 were not any longer the odious crimes in our estimation, which we considered them when we took up arms for their suppression. I then instanced some of the acts by which he had shown this disposition, mentioning among others, his refusal to speak a word of commendation for the Union cause on the battlefield of Gettysburg, lowering the flag in honor of old Jake Thompson when he died, and going fishing on Decoration Day.

And ever since we have heard the cry that these matters have nothing to do with politics, and that they are small matters anyhow; that nothing but a demagogue would think of trying to make capital out of them; and so on, for quantity. It is true that these matters do not have anything to do directly with any of the political questions involved

in the Ohio canvass this year, and yet such matters are always in order, as showing and illustrating the spirit and character of a political administration and as affording an explanation for such changes in sentiment and expressions as I have referred to. It was in that sense I mentioned them.

But is it true that these are trivial matters, not worthy of notice? Any single one might be so regarded, perhaps, and passed over accordingly. And so, too, we might—yes, did—hold our tongues and passed over a great number of them, and finally raised a cry of dissent only when forbearance ceased to be a virtue and loyalty could no longer be silent. (Applause.)

Cleveland's Reverence For Jake Thompson.

But let us stop, now that we have been challenged to do so, and consider for a moment what these acts amounted to. First there was the lowering of the stars and stripes in honor of old Jake Thompson. Who was he? And what did that signify? He was Secretary of the Interior under Buchanan. He violated his oath to support the constitution, and undertook by going into secession to destroy it. Not only that, but in violation of his duties he seized and carried away with him hundreds of thousands of dollars of the public money of the United States. But that is not all. He undertook to serve the Southern Confederacy—not with a gun, like a man, but by going up into Canada and from there organizing and sending down into the loyal states and cities bands of incendiaries to fire our homes, and other bands to scatter clothing among our people that had been infected with yellow fever. If there ever was an inhuman wretch it was old Jake Thompson. (Applause.) If there ever was a man whose name should be blotted out of history, and whose memory should live only to teach how near to the conditions of total depravity a human being may fall, that man was Jake Thompson. (Applause.) And yet that man must have the flag of the country lowered in honor of his memory when he died. (Cries of "Shame!") It is no wonder that all the South should have thought if Thompson is to be honored, then, indeed, is all dishonor of rebellion gone.

A friend of mine, who recently visited the palace in Venice where the portraits of the Doges are hung, told me that he looked at all with great interest, but that the only one he could remember was the only one he did not see; and when I asked him how that was possible, he explained by saying he referred to the portrait of Faliero. He said he was a Doge of Venice some six hundred years ago, and that he committed an act of treason, and that he was at once arrested, tried, convicted and executed for it, and that as an additional punishment for his treason, his picture was turned with its face to the wall, and that it has continued so to hang through all the centuries that have followed. What a fool old Faliero was. He ought to have lived six hundred years later and committed his treason in this country, and died while Grover Cleveland was President, and then he would not only have gone unpunished while he lived, but he would have had the flag of his country lowered in his honor when he died. It may appear a small thing to

Mr. Powell thus to honor such a man, but I can assure him that it does not so appear to the great mass of patriotic people in this country. (Applause.) It was enough to forgive such crimes as he had committed. (Applause.) It was asking too much to honor him when he died. (Applause.) It teaches a bad lesson. It misleads the people of the South and the rising generations of the whole country. (Applause.)

Gettysburg's Snub.

But now, let us consider another matter, that is said to be so small that it is not worthy of mention. I allude to his refusal to say a word on the field of Gettysburg. If you will turn to the accounts given in the newspapers at the time, you will find that he went there in his official capacity; that the Governor of Pennsylvania and thousands of the citizens of that state and the country were there assembled to greet him. It was an important and impressive occasion. It would seem that on that field, if anywhere under the heavens, the President of the United States could and would say something. It was the turning point of the war. It settled the destiny of the continent. It is the Waterloo of America. All the patriotic recollections of the country are gathered about those consecrated fields. It was there Lincoln spoke and made a speech as immortal as the English language. Had we not gained success at Gettysburg the Union would have perished. There would not have been any great United States government for Grover Cleveland to be at the head of today. Surely on such a spot, at such a time, the President of the United States could not be utterly dumb. The accounts tell us that he was shown over the field; all the important points of interest were pointed out to him; yonder Reynolds fell; here Howard, fighting like a hero, was driven back on that first day; there Hancock was wounded and Pickett was repulsed; and yonder are Little Round Top, the wheat field, the peach orchard, and so on. But through it all he asks not a question and makes not a word of comment. He appears wholly uninterested. It seems an actual bore. Finally they come to the stand where the public exercises are to be held. The people are gathered about it. They want to hear a speech from the President. There is blank astonishment. He refuses to make one, or even to go upon the platform. They urge him to say something to gratify the people and to show his appreciation of the place and the occasion. But no! he proposes to "snub" the whole business, and his answer is that he has "nothing to say except only that he wants his lunch." (Cries of "Shame, shame, shame.") This may be "a little thing," but, if so, it is one of the little things that a patriotic people will never forget. (Applause.)

Decoration Day.

But now let us consider further. Have you ever stopped to think what a world of beautiful, sacred and holy thought is connected with Decoration Day? Yes, I know you have, because you are a patriotic people. I do not need, therefore, to dwell upon the significance of that day. But allow me to briefly recall that picture which is presented by the loyal people of this country on every thirtieth of May.

As the day approaches, the warming sunshine of spring time brings out the flowers. As they peep and bud, and bloom and blossom, the mothers and widows and orphans note their coming, and watch with anxious care for the brightest and most beautiful. They have a special use for them. They are thinking of the dark and trying days of 1861-65. They are recalling idolized, darling boys, husbands and fathers who then volunteered and marched away after the flag, never to return again. They remember, as though it was but yesterday, the last fond embrace. They again feel the wrenching of the cord strings of the heart. They are once more blinded with tears. They recall that strange, wild delirium of war. They again hear the rattle of the drum, the shrill, piercing notes of the fife. They once more see the flag floating on the breeze. They hear again the resounding tramp of marching men. They see pale but determined faces in line. Hark! they are moving. They are off. They fade out of sight forever. Oh, God, can any language express the utter loneliness and desolation of the mothers and wives who thus gave up their loved ones? Think of them as they returned to their homes, there to wait and watch and pray until their darlings might come again.

Recall, if you can, how the lonely wife with her hapless babe struggled to eke out a subsistence, and how each day she tried with Spartan heroism to cheer her inquiring children with stories about what they would do when papa should come marching home again; and oh! anguish unspeakable! when at last, like a thunderbolt, the news comes that there has been another great battle, and in the list of the dead is found the name of that dear one. Recall, if you can, the terrible scenes, the great sacrifices, the unutterable woe of that fearful time, and then you can appreciate what is passing in the minds of the mother, the widow and the orphans, and the surviving comrades, as they note the budding and blooming of the bright flowers of springtime. They are thinking again of the low grassy mounds in the cemetery, where lie and sleep their last sleep, the brave hearted heroes who went down in the prime of their manhood.

At last the day comes. All business is suspended. A holy hush falls upon the whole land. The Grand Army boys gather at their post headquarters. They brush up their uniforms, polish their buttons, get out the flag, and beneath its folds with solemn step, and keeping time to the drum-beat, they march again. Not, however, to battle. The drum is muffled. The flag is draped. They are marching to the sacred spots where their comrades lie. The mothers, the fathers, the widows, the orphans, the whole community fall into the procession, and all wend their way to the places of the dead. Here are a score of the most beautiful little maidens of the place. They carry baskets of flowers. They are laden with the brightest garlands that can be woven. They look like very angels from heaven. The cemetery is reached. Patriotic words are spoken, and every head is bared and every heart is bowed, while Almighty God is worshiped and His divine blessing is invoked and received.

The little girls go forward. The flowers are scattered, and as they fall, every eye is wet with tears, just as I see are the eyes of hundreds of you now. Every soul seems lifted up to a higher plane. It is a "Nearer, My God, to Thee" time. All who have participated are better,

purer and holier for having done so. They have performed a sacred and ennobling duty; they have done what every patriot should do. It is almost impossible to believe that any intelligent, patriotic American citizen could allow the day to pass without its due observance. Look out through your mind and behold the picture of the whole land so engaged. See with your mental vision this beautiful ceremony occurring in every cemetery from one ocean to the other. Behold the widows, the orphans, the mothers, the veteran survivors there assembled. See the rising generations, as they drink in the wholesome and inspiriting lessons of patriotism. Listen to the prayers for our country, the dead, the living and the future generations of America. Hear the thrilling songs that are sung, and the words of patriotism that are spoken, and as you hold all this picture in your mind, remember that if there is one man, who, more than all others, has been benefited by the sacrifices that are being honored, one man more than all others who should manifest appreciation for those sacrifices and be glad to engage in such patriotic, appropriate and sacred ceremonies, it is the President of the United States, who, but for the deeds of such heroes, would not have had any government to be President of. Surely it must be a sacred day with him. Surely his heart is overflowing with emotion!

How Grover Celebrated the Day.

Surely he is somewhere, at some one of these cemeteries, engaged in these beautiful duties. Look and find him. It will be interesting to note how with his whole soul he enjoys them. You look in vain? What, can't you see him anywhere? Look again! You must be mistaken. Look at Gettysburg, Arlington, Nashville, Chattanooga. He must certainly be at some one of the national cemeteries, where sleep by the thousands the men who made it possible for him to be President. No, he is not there. You do look in vain. He is no part of the picture. Is he at home, sick? No; he is never sick. (Laughter.) Where, then, can he be? He's gone "a-fishing." (Cries of "Shame, shame, shame.")

Governor Gordon.

Another incident of this campaign that added greatly to its zest and enthusiasm was the participation of Governor John B. Gordon, of Georgia. I was not aware we were to be honored with a visit from him until I read in our papers the following dispatch from Atlanta:

WILL BLAST FORAKER.

Governor Gordon, of Georgia, to Stump Ohio in Behalf of the South.

Atlanta, Georgia, October 22.

Governor John B. Gordon will enter the state campaign in Ohio next week, where he has consented to deliver a series of public addresses. The appeals to the Governor from prominent Ohio Democrats have been so urgent that he has finally consented to take the stump.

where he proposes to answer Governor Foraker's assaults on the South, and to pledge the fealty of the ex-Confederates to the general government.

Speaking at Delaware the following day I read the dispatch, expressed pleasure to learn that he was coming, defended myself against the charge that I had been attacking the people of the South, pointed out that we had fought the war to preserve the Union, and not to destroy the seceding States; that the reconstruction that followed was made necessary by those who were engaged in the rebellion, and that emancipation and enfranchisement had followed because equity, justice and the preservation of the fruits of the struggle so required.

I next pointed out that there was no trouble about elections in the South until 1868, and then proceeded as follows:

THE KU KLUX KLAN.

But suddenly there came a change. Between the spring election of 1868, which was comparatively unimportant, and the fall election, which determined the Presidency, the Republican vote fell off without any increase of the Democratic vote in the three States of Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina, almost 100,000 votes. This decline was kept up and rapidly increased until in all these States the Republican party was practically destroyed and the South was made absolutely solid. How was this change wrought? It was the work of the most iniquitous organization ever known in the political history of this or any other country. It was the work of blood, of whipping, of lashing, intimidation, assassination and murder. It was the work of the Ku Klux Klan, men who appropriately named their commander Cyclops, and themselves ghouls of the den. It took thirteen closely printed volumes to print the horrible story of these inhuman outrages as it was told before a congressional committee. In the short time they existed they are shown by the official records to have murdered thousands, and to have beaten and maimed tens of thousands, and for no other purpose than to destroy the free exercise of the right of suffrage and turn the south and the whole country over to the Democratic party.

. . . . . .

The following report of the grand jury of the U. S. Circuit Court for South Carolina is to the same point, but more extended and explicit:

Presentment of the grand jury:

"*To the Judges of the U. S. Circuit Court:*—In closing the labors of the present term, the grand jury beg leave to submit the following presentment: During the whole session we have been engaged in investigations of the most grave and extraordinary character—

investigations of the crimes committed by the organization known as the Ku Klux Klan. The evidence elicited has been voluminous, gathered from the victims themselves, and from their families, as well as those who belonged to the Klan and participated in its crime. The jury has been shocked beyond measure at the developments which have been made in their presence of the number and character of the atrocities committed, producing a state of terror and a sense of utter insecurity among a large portion of the people, especially the colored population. The evidence produced before us has established the following facts:

"First—That there has existed since 1868 in many counties of the state an organization known as the Ku Klux Klan, or 'Invisible Empire of the South,' which embraces in its membership a large proportion of the white population of every profession and class.

"Second—That this Klan is bound together by an oath, administered to its members at the time of their initiation into the order, of which the following is a copy:

"OBLIGATION.

"I (name), before the Immaculate Judge of Heaven and earth, and upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, do of my own free will and accord, subscribe to the following sacredly binding obligation:

"First—We are on the side of justice, humanity and constitutional liberty as bequeathed to us in its purity by our forefathers.

"Second—We oppose and reject the principles of the radical party.

"Third—We pledge mutual aid to each other in sickness, distress and pecuniary embarrassment.

"Fourth—Female friends, widows and their households shall ever be special objects of our regard and protection.

"Any member divulging, or causing to be divulged, any of the foregoing obligations, shall meet the fearful penalty and traitor's doom, which is death, Death!

"That in addition to this oath, the Klan has a constitution and by-laws which provides, among other things, that each member shall furnish himself with a pistol, a Ku Klux gown, and a signal instrument. That the operations of the Klan were executed in the night, and were invariably directed against members of the Republican Party, by warnings to leave the country, by whippings and murder.

"Third—That in large portions of the counties of York, Union and Spartanburg, to which our attention has been more particularly called in our investigations, during part of the time for the last eighteen months, the civil law has been set at defiance and ceased to afford any protection to the citizens.

"Fourth—That the Klan for carrying out the purposes for which it was organized and armed, inflicted summary vengeance upon the colored citizens of these counties by breaking into their houses in the most inhuman manner, and in many instances murdering them. This mainly on account of their political affiliation. Occasionally additional reasons operated, but in no instance was the political feature wanting.

"Fifth—That for this condition of things, for all these violations of law and order, and the sacred rights of citizens, many leading men of these counties were responsible. It was proven that large numbers of the most prominent citizens were members of the order; many of this class attended meetings of the Grand Klan. At a meeting of the Grand Klan, had at Spartanburg county, at which there were representatives of the Klans of Spartanburg, York, Union and Chester counties, in this state, besides a number from North Carolina, a resolution was adopted that no raids should be undertaken, or any one injured or whipped by members of the Klan, without orders from the Grand Klan. The penalty for violating this resolution was one hundred lashes on the bare back for the first offense, and for the second, death. This testimony establishes the nature of the discipline enforced in the order, and also the fact that many of the men who were openly and publicly speaking against the Klan, and pretending to deplore the work of this murderous conspiracy, were influential members of the order, and directing its operations in detail. The jury has been appalled as much at the number of outrages as at their character, it appearing that eleven murders and over six hundred whippings have been committed in York county alone. Our investigation in regard to the other counties named has been less full, but it is believed from the testimony that an equal or greater number has been committed in Union, and that the number is not greatly less in Spartanburg and Laurens. We are of the opinion that the most vigorous prosecution of the parties implicated in these crimes is imperatively demanded; that without this there will be no security to our fellow citizens of African descent.

"Benj. F. Jackson, *Foreman.*"

What the Republican Party has been denouncing was such work as this. We do not believe in such agencies; neither do we believe that the men who organized them, and are responsible for them, are fit instructors in our duty as to the exercise of the right of suffrage. I have mentioned all this for the purpose of preparing the way for the statement I now make, that Governor John B. Gordon of Georgia, who is coming all the way to Ohio on a blasting expedition to answer my alleged assaults on the people of the South, was a member of this infamous organization, and to ask him, while he is answering my alleged assaults, to please be kind enough to answer also why he should have been engaged in such assaults upon the right to vote in this country; and I would be glad, too, if while on that subject he would be kind enough to explain what he left in doubt when he testified before the congressional committee, namely, whether he was the "Cyclops" or only a common "ghoul of the den." It would be interesting to the people of Ohio to know also whether he is still of the same opinion he then expressed "with emphasis," that "secession and rebellion were not treason, or any kind of a crime." It will greatly help matters along to have all these interesting questions definitely settled before the "blasting" business commences. (Long continued applause.)

Now I want to talk to you about something else.

Evidently Governor Gordon was not expecting such a reception. He complained of it in some of his speeches

as discourteous. Inasmuch as he was not my guest, and had come on a mission of political hostility, I did not think any apologies were necessary. On the contrary I enjoyed the discomfort he manifested and the confusion and demoralization that my Delaware speech had occasioned.

In undertaking to answer me the Governor not only complained, but he undertook to defend, and in what he said laid himself open to further attack, which I made a few days later in a speech at Springfield on the second day of November, where I said:

ANSWERS GOV. GORDON.

We have had a strange scene enacted during the last week. At Macon, Ga., there has been a review by Jeff Davis of the survivors of the rebel army, and we have heard the same treasonable doctrines again expressed that led us to war in 1861. We have been told that "State sovereignty is not dead;" that the constitution was but a compact which any state may at any time break; we have been told that slavery is "the gentlest and most humanizing and civilizing relation labor has ever borne to capital," and that in the future Jeff Davis is to outrank Abraham Lincoln. At the same time we have been told at Richmond that Lee is greater and grander than Washington. This is startling when we hear of it as happening in Georgia, but becomes much more so when men come fresh from such scenes to defend them here in Ohio. This has been done by Governor Gordon of Georgia. He has come here to speak in behalf of the Democratic party, and he does it by eulogizing Jeff Davis; insisting that there was no treason in the secession movement and the rebellion, and that on such a basis we shall have peace, unity and fraternity between the sections. This magnificent audience is a protest against any such thing. (Applause.) We want peace and unity, but not at the expense of honoring Jeff Davis or palliating the crimes of secession, slavery and rebellion. We want peace and union on the basis of the results of the war and no other. We were right and they were wrong. (Enthusiastic applause.) Such was the verdict of battle, and that verdict must stand. We ask that that verdict may stand; that it may be observed; we ask nothing more, we will accept nothing less. (Renewed cheering.)

. . . . . .

I made the charge that Governor Gordon was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Governor Gordon has since spoken in Ohio. He has stated, as he is reported in the public press, that he never belonged to the Ku Klux Klan. He makes his statement broader, and says he never belonged to any *secret* organization whatever, and further says that he "never took any oath or obligation of any kind to support any organization, not even the Democratic party." He admits, however, that he, in common with certain "other gentlemen of Georgia, had a private understanding that they would protect themselves from apprehended violence at the hands of the negro population." He alludes to

my charge as "unwarranted, ungracious and ungentlemanly." In view of his denials, and in view of his characterization of this charge, I desire to call attention to Governor Gordon's sworn testimony, as it was given by him at Washington, D. C., July 27, 1871, before the congressional committee, which was then taking testimony and making investigations as to the existence, character and operations of the Ku Klux Klan. His testimony commences on page 304 of volume 6, part 1, of the committee's report. Anyone reading this testimony will, I think, agree with me that many answers given by Governor Gordon were of the most evasive character, but, notwithstanding this, he has answered with sufficient definiteness, as will appear from the following extracts from his testimony, to fully justify the charge I made. I quote his exact language, commencing on page 308:

"I do know that an organization did exist in Georgia at one time. I know that in 1868, I think that was the time, I was approached and asked to attach myself to a *secret* organization in Georgia. The object of this organization was explained to me at the time by these parties, and I want to say that *I approved of it most heartily. I would approve again of a similar organization under the same state of circumstances.*

. . . . . .

"The organization was simply this, nothing more, and nothing else; it was an organization, a brotherhood of property-holders, the peaceable, law-abiding citizens of the state, for self-protection. The instinct of self-protection prompted that organization; the sense of necessity and danger, *particularly in those neighborhoods where the negro population largely predominated.* . . .

"I am not going to state what my position was in that particular organization. . . .

"I was approached as an individual by certain gentlemen, and told that such an organization existed, and that its purposes were such as I have indicated, and I was asked to unite with them. I told them I certainly would, that they could command my services on that line whenever they wanted them." . . .

"Question. Was there any obligation which the members took?"

"Answer. Yes, sir."

"Question. Was it in the nature of an oath?"

"Answer. I do not think it was an oath; I think it was a pledge, tantamount to an oath."

"Question. I mean was the obligation in the form of an oath—'You do solemnly swear,' or anything of that kind?"

"Answer. Yes, sir; I think it was."

"Question. Of course it would not be an oath unless some officer administered it."

"Answer. I think there was something of that sort."

"Question. Do you recollect the purport of that oath?"

"Answer. I have no recollection of it at all, except that it was to the effect that we would unite as a band of brothers to protect each other from violence and aggression on the part of the negro."

"Question. You took the obligation yourself?"

"Answer. Yes, sir; I took it to whatever extent it was given to anybody. It could not be regarded as an oath; it was a moral pledge. But I regarded it just as much as an oath."

I have nothing more to add except only to call attention to the fact that when Governor Gordon gave this testimony he was under oath.

. . . . . .

We protest against following his advice in this campaign, because that involves a eulogy of slavery and a defense of secession and the exaltation to the plane of patriotism and spotless integrity of Jeff Davis, but we also protest against accepting his advice because, by his own record, as established by himself, it is made to appear that he has been part and parcel, at least, to the extent of membership, of the most iniquitous assault upon the exercise of the right of suffrage ever known in this land. (Great applause.)

Closing Meeting of Campaign.

I closed the campaign with an address to a monster mass meeting in the old Music Hall at Cincinnati, with its tremendous audience room, Saturday night before the election.

The descriptive account published in the *Commercial Gazette* was written by Mr. James Boyle, who had the deserved reputation among all newspaper men of accuracy and conservatism in his facts and estimates.

I quote from what he says:

In five years of political writing I have never seen such a stupendous meeting as that given Governor Foraker last night. . . .

His magnificent meetings elsewhere in Ohio have so attracted the attention of his old friends at home that he was given an ovation which was never before accorded to any Cincinnati man.

For two weeks I have been traveling with the Governor in his triumphal tour through Ohio. Every meeting seemed better than the one before it. The grand climax was reached last night. In 1884 there were great meetings. It was a national canvass. But no meeting of that year in Cincinnati equaled the demonstration of last night. Even the great Logan meeting did not come near it. The joint debate of 1885 between Hoadly and Foraker was a great affair, but could not compare with last night, because the debate was attended equally by Republicans and Democrats. . . .

Before seven o'clock last night the galleries were full. The crowd surged in below and looked with wishes for places in the chairs reserved for the clubs. The stage soon held a thousand people eminent in politics and in public affairs. . . .

The Blaine club came in with banners flying, drums beating, and a great excited enthusiastic crowd standing upon seats to receive it. The other clubs followed, the Ruffin club, . . . the R. B. Elliott club, . . . and all the other clubs.

There was a constant cry of Foraker from the first arrival of the clubs. Before he came the hall was packed. There were ten thousand people in the auditorium and corridors, and before the meeting had begun there were over a thousand on the steps outside unable to get in. . . .

Throughout the crowd were ladies, and the balconies were full of them. So the wealth, the chivalry, the beauty and the votes of Hamilton county were represented.

Since Governor Foraker's famous criticism of Southern methods and the invasion of rebel brigadiers the popular tune in Ohio is "Marching Through Georgia." He marched through Georgia, from Atlanta to the sea, with Sherman years ago, as a soldier lad, and he has marched in Georgia again this time in politics.

And he has certainly sent Gordon marching back to Georgia, glad to get away from a state where he found Foraker so popular and the doctrines of secession so despised.

It was like the surge of a national convention when Foraker came in. They knew him. His face has become as familiar as that of Grant or Blaine. He was tired out. His voice was nearly gone. But he could not but be revived as he saw in his home in Cincinnati such a great meeting, and heard the hurrahs of 10,000 people giving a welcome never accorded to kings. . . .

Even the National Convention did not give much more cheering at any one time. Then Halstead leaned over the pulpit like a preacher, and very much unlike a preacher made his speech.

He was at a disadvantage, as the marching clubs kept coming in. But he went on and there were constant cries for Foraker. He appeared, and there was another tumultuous shout. The boys with white hats stood in their chairs and twirled them on their canes. Handkerchiefs were waved by ladies, and right above me in the gallery sat an old woman waving her handkerchief and crying. Had she lost sons in the war? Had she read with burning indignation of the invasion by ex-rebels and the rebuke given them by Foraker?

I need not attempt a discussion of the Governor's speech. He was tired and hoarse when he began. But the enthusiasm assisted his own earnestness, and he became animated and eloquent, forgetting the soreness of his throat and his jaded condition. So he talked on, each period bringing applause, and every sentiment of patriotism giving the great hall a thrill of applause.

Most of the other descriptive accounts of the meeting were more flattering than that of Mr. Boyle. I have quoted generously from what he said in order that I may in that way show that to the end the meetings were larger and the enthusiasm greater in the campaign of 1887 than in any other campaign in which I have ever participated, whether state or national.

The result on election day was what such meetings foreshadowed—a triumphant election. My plurality over Mr. Powell was 23,329.

CHAPTER XX.

1888

CENTENNIAL YEAR.

MY SECOND administration as Governor was uneventful so far as ordinary official events were concerned, but on the other hand unusual because of the many interesting and important public functions, official and semi-official, in which as Governor I found it my duty to participate.

My two administrations were the last of the first century of civil government in Ohio and the first of the second.

In my annual message to the General Assembly January 2nd, 1888, I called attention to this fact, and that the Legislature had already provided for four centennial celebrations—two at Marietta, one at Cincinnati, and one at Columbus. The two provided for at Marietta were: First, the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the first settlement in the territory "Northwest of the river Ohio," made at that point in April, 1787; the second was the celebration of the inauguration at that point of Arthur St. Clair as Governor of the Northwest Territory.

The celebrations at Cincinnati and Columbus were of the centennial anniversaries of the respective first settlements at these places.

One week later, January 9, 1888, I was inaugurated and entered upon my second term as Governor.

My address on this occasion dealt so fully with these events and celebrations that I incorporate it because of its historical character. It was as follows:

Gentlemen of the General Assembly:—One week ago, in compliance with the requirements of the Constitution, I sent you an annual message. It called your attention to all matters pertaining to state affairs, concerning which I desired to communicate with you.

For this reason it is not necessary to detain you now with the discussion of such topics. The few remarks I shall make at this time will, therefore, be of a general nature.

We are at the close of the first century of civilization and government on Ohio soil. It is a fitting time to recall our past achievements and the lessons they have taught. One hundred years ago today our first settlement had not yet been made. This whole country was an unbroken wilderness. There were here no fields, or farms, or towns, or cities; no roads, canals, or steamboats; no railways, telegraphs, or telephones; no school-houses, colleges, or newspapers; no civilization and no civilized people. Except only the Indian, there was no one to govern or be governed.

Nevertheless, events had transpired which were, with respect to us, of vast consequence and determining character. The independence of the United States had been achieved, and the new nation had taken its place among the nations of the earth. The Constitution had been adopted and the thirteen original states had been bound together by its ties. Whatever hesitation and doubt had at any time existed, as to the wisdom and propriety of controlling the government and destiny of the "territory northwest of the river Ohio" had passed away, and the ordinance of 1787 had been enacted. Thus it had been settled that we should not only become a part of the United States, but, what is still more important, that these hills and valleys should be dedicated to human liberty, and that all our governmental structures, here to be erected, should rest upon the great fundamental truth that religion, morality, and knowledge are essential to good government.

The fortune that attended us in this regard cannot be exaggerated. It consisted, not simply in the consequences that resulted from the character of this instrument, but also in the fact that there probably was no time either before or afterward, when such an ordinance could have been adopted.

All such efforts previously made had failed, and almost immediately following a struggle commenced for its revocation or modification. The sentiment so developed against it would have been sufficient to have prevented it, but it was not sufficient to destroy it. It was destined to stand, and the result was acceptable conditions that attracted the moving tides of emigration and quickly brought us, not only a freedom-loving, but a vigorous, enterprising, self-reliant, God-fearing, and Union-loving population.

The ordinance was adopted July 13, 1787. The first settlement, consisting of forty-eight persons, was made at the mouth of the Muskingum, April 7, 1788. A few weeks later, on the 15th day of July, 1788, followed the inauguration of Ohio's first Governor. The scene presented on that occasion was widely different from that which is witnessed here today. The official record is brief, but it is both interesting and suggestive. It informs us that by the use of forest branches, a "bower" was erected on the site of Marietta, the seat of government, and that there all the inhabitants of the place had gathered. How large an audience they made may be inferred from the fact that on the first day of September following, the settlement numbered one hundred and thirty-two souls, all told.

General Arthur St. Clair, accompanied by the secretary and two judges, all of whom had been appointed by President Washington, to establish and administer the civil government of the territory, appeared with their commissions and were duly welcomed, on behalf of the people and presented to them, by General Rufus Putnam. After the reading of their commissions, and "some highly appreciated remarks by the Governor, on the importance of good government," the ordinance of 1787 was read by the secretary. This was received "with cheers that made the forests echo." The record further states that the exercises were throughout of such grave, formal and dignified character as to greatly impress all who were present.

On the following Sabbath, divine services were held, with special reference to, and as a part of the inauguration ceremonies. The minister preached a "powerful sermon" from the text found in the 5th and 6th verses of the 19th chapter of Exodus—"Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice, indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me, above all people; for all the earth is mine, and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation."

Such are the simple annals of that event. Except the bare statement that it was a powerful sermon, nothing is said as to the character of the minister's remarks. But with the text before us, we can safely assume what some of the thoughts were that entered into his discourse. At least, he might, with propriety, have likened their recent escape from the tyranny of England to the flight of the Hebrews; the forests that surrounded them, to the wilderness of Sinai; the possessions upon which they were entering, to the land of Canaan. There was enough, in their situation, of striking similarity to that of the children of Israel, to make the injunctions and promises of the text impressively applicable.

If the sermon had been reported, we would no doubt find it, in all parts, a most interesting document for present perusal. But probably the most interesting portion of it would be that in which were depicted the triumphs of the future, and the consequent blessings to them and their posterity, if they but obeyed the voice and kept the covenant. Doing that, the rich promises of reward should follow. These were of such character as to signify the most exceptional favor and the highest earthly prosperity. With what kind of speech, with what sort of figures, with what pictures of triumph, did he paint their possible realizations? Doubtless he had grand conceptions of what the coming years might unfold. All connected with the initial proceedings of our territorial government seemed to be so impressed. The nature of the ordinance shows that the men who framed it highly appreciated its importance. The grave, formal and dignified character of the ceremonies attending the inauguration of Governor St. Clair would have appeared absurd and ridiculous, had it not been well understood that not only the spot they occupied and the handful of people there assembled were to be affected, but that a government was being instituted for a territory larger than France or Germany, and capable of supporting a population of millions. He was seeking to impress upon his hearers their dependence upon God for their highest success, and, as an inducement for observing the conditions precedent, named in the text, what that highest success might be. Manifestly he would deal in

glowing colors. And yet who can doubt that his painting of the achievements and glories of the future would fall far short of today's realities!

One hundred years have come and gone. The little band who occupied but a foothold on the border have swelled to more than 12,000,000 of intelligent, cultivated and patriotic citizens, who have spread out over every acre of the 250,000 square miles of area which then constituted an unoccupied territory, but which today comprises the mighty States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. Where were but the haunts of savage men and beasts, are today happy and peaceful homes. The forests have been swept away and the refinements and adornments of civilization have been substituted. Considering only our own State, we have a population greater than that of the whole United States at that time. We have more wealth and a higher credit; we have more diversity of employment and a greater domestic commerce. There is no skill of the artisan or wonder of mechanism known to the world with which we are not familiar. Education is free to the most humble, as well as the most favored. Churches for every creed are to be found in every hamlet, to testify, not only of religion, but also of religious liberty. And who can fail to remember, as one of the greatest of all our blessings, that we not only enjoy the best of all governments, but also the supreme good fortune of knowing and appreciating that it is such? While in every other civilized nation there is serious and widespread dissatisfaction with their theory and form of government and a corresponding disposition to make changes, here such a sentiment is practically unknown. All believe in constitutional government—all believe in the right and capacity of the people to govern themselves, and all believe in the theory of civil and political equality, in the exercise of that right. No one is seeking to make a change of form. In so far as we have political differences, they relate to mere administration, to the manner in which, and the extent to which, the acknowledged rights of citizenship shall be exercised; how revenues shall be collected, and in what manner conceded evils shall be dealt with.

Verily we appear to be a peculiar treasure above all people. Who shall say it is not due to the fact that we have obeyed the voice and kept the covenant? The voice that was heard in the bower when the secretary read the declarations of our first organic law with respect to the essentials of good government; and the covenant that was made when that pioneer audience responded "with cheers that made the forests echo."

More than six thousand churches proclaim our fidelity to religion and morality; more than thirteen thousand schoolhouses and colleges are standing testimonials to our appreciation for education; an annual expenditure of more than ten millions of dollars indicates our present generous contribution for its continued maintenance and advancement; more than nine hundred newspapers are constantly disseminating knowledge, and human bondage has never at any time been known within our borders. These are indisputable proofs that the faith has been kept. But it has been kept not for our own good alone. The whole country has shared with us the blessing. Had not this territory been so dedicated and devoted to free institutions slavery would have controlled

the destiny of the Union, or, failing in that, been sufficiently powerful to have destroyed it. It went down in that bloody trial of strength, because the standard of righteousness, of knowledge, of liberty, of human equality had here its legions of brave defenders. Without their help the conspirators who sought by war and bloodshed to uphold and enforce the heresy of secession would have triumphed; but with it the Constitution was saved, purified and perfected; all men were made free and equal, and the last menace to the perpetuity of our institutions was swept away forever. Such are some of the achievements of the century that is gone. When their far-reaching consequences are considered, it becomes manifest that it is not possible to express with words an exaggerated estimate of their importance to mankind.

What now of the century upon which we are entering? Only God knows. It does not seem possible that there can be wrapped up in the next one hundred years so much of development as has been made during the last—and yet there may be more. The last fifty years have signally eclipsed the next preceding fifty. Had this truth been foretold, who could have given it credence? But whether we are to continue this marvelous march of progress or not, we stand charged with responsibilities as grave as those which rested upon the fathers who attended our first inauguration. To them was confided the duty of laying the foundations; to us is entrusted the superstructure. Had they failed, there would have been disappointment. If we fail, there will be both disappointment and destruction. For in that event we dash to pieces alike the hopes for posterity and the splendid works that have been wrought. We must not fail; and we shall not, if we but adopt for our guidance the lessons of the past. They teach us that we have succeeded because we have been governed by the great ideas of morality, education, equality and a disposition to take care of our own country. Let us, therefore, apply and be governed by these same ideas as we go forward in the discharge of the duties that are before us. To this end we must discard and reject all that falls short of the requirements of the highest standard of right; put the light of truth in every man's way; permit no distinction founded on race, color, nationality or occupation, and remember always to promote that which is calculated to advance America. But if we would advance America, we must especially remember to always stand firmly for the people's rights to be honestly heard at the ballot box. To guarantee this right by constitutional and statutory provisions, and then allow it to be abused is a fraud and a disgrace. It strikes a fatal blow at the very foundations of free popular government. It is just cause of congratulation that such crimes have been suppressed in Ohio. May the day soon come when the same can be said of every other State in the Union. Until then there cannot be, and there should not be, any relaxation of effort to secure such a result. The flag of the nation must mean absolute protection in the enjoyment of all his rights to every man who looks with allegiance upon its folds. It must mean more. It must continue to represent to all, wherever it may be carried, a people who have sense enough and patriotism enough to take care of their own country in a business way. We must dig our coal out of our own hills and our

ore out of our own mines. We must grow our own wool, have our own factories, furnaces, foundries and machine shops. In so far as God has blessed us with natural resources and ability to use them, we must decline to depend upon others. By their development we must give employment to our labor, inventive genius to our mechanics, home markets to our farmers, a domestic commerce to the sections that will bind them together in yet stronger bonds of union, and insure peace, contentment, prosperity and independence to the millions of freemen whose happy fortune it is, and will be, now and hereafter, to have this land for their priceless heritage.

If we meet the full measure of our obligations in these respects, those whose lot it may be to look back from the close of our second century to its beginning, can pay to us the highest possible tribute of praise by simply repeating what we are justly proud and gratified to be able to say today, "Our fathers obeyed the voice and kept the covenant, and we are in consequence a peculiar treasure above all people, a kingdom of priests and an holy nation."

The Marietta Centennial.

The first of the celebrations mentioned in my inaugural was held at Marietta, O., on the 7th day of April.

It was in honor of the landing at that place of Rufus Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, and their associates—forty-eight in all—on the 7th day of April, 1788.

They there established the first white settlement in Ohio and in the Northwest Territory. That particular point was a part of a million and a half acres of ground that had been acquired by the Ohio company; a company organized in Massachussets and New England for the purpose of acquiring land and establishing a settlement and building homes in the territory lying "northwest of the river Ohio."

The celebration was primarily under the auspices of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, but by appropriate recognition of the Legislature, it had been made an official occasion, and in that way it became my duty, as it was my pleasure, to attend the celebration.

To me was assigned the duty of delivering an address of welcome to all in attendance. The celebration proper was on the 7th, but the society had arranged a number of preliminary meetings to be addressed by distinguished citizens from other States.

The first of these meetings was held on Thursday evening, April 5th. Among the distinguished speakers who were present and made able, interesting and instructive addresses during the course of the celebration, were the Rev. Edward Everett Hale of Massachusetts; the Rev. Dr. H. M. Storrs of New Jersey; the Rev. A. L. Chapin, ex-president of Beloit college; Hon. Samuel F. Hunt and Judge Joseph Cox, of Cincinnati; but the principal addresses were delivered on the 7th of April, one by Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, another by the Honorable John Randolph Tucker of Virginia, and another by ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes.

The celebration was in every sense of the word successful, and fittingly prepared the way for the more important celebration of the establishment at that same point of civil government, and the inauguration of Gen. Arthur St. Clair on the 15th day of July, 1788, as the first Governor of the Northwest Territory.

This second celebration was so important a function, connected as it was, with not only the settlement already celebrated, but also with the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787—three great historical events so related to each other as to make one of the most celebrated and influential epochs in American history that the Legislature made a liberal appropriation to defray the expenses of an official participation in the event, and authorized the Governor to invite the States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, created, as Ohio, out of the Northwest Territory, and also the neighboring States of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky, to officially participate in the celebration, which was, as to all details, under the control of a local committee of one hundred of the most prominent citizens of Marietta, of which committee Hon. S. M. McMillen was chairman, with which the state centennial reception committee, of which I, as Governor, was ex-officio chairman, co-operated.

The occasion was one of such historical interest and so related to events that had exerted far-reaching influences for good upon our government, our people, our civilization

and our institutions, that wide interest in its success was quickly disclosed and numerous acceptances of the invitations extended were received.

The local committee soon learned that more than one day would be necessary for a celebration worthy of the events to be commemorated. They finally determined to give almost a whole week to the celebration, and accordingly arranged that it should commence on Sunday, July 15th, and continue until Thursday, July 19th; the exercises on Sunday to be of a religious character, and introductory to the celebration proper, the initial point of which should be on the 15th—the actual anniversary.

So many acceptances of our invitations, which later were extended to other States than those mentioned, were received that the committee in charge were able to arrange an interesting program of public addresses for each day during this period.

They finally conceived the notion that the Governor should be present in Marietta during the whole week of the celebration, in order to assist in its conduct and in the entertainment of the distinguished visitors.

Recognizing the propriety and reasonableness of their request Mrs. Foraker and I gladly consented to spend the week in Marietta, and in accordance with the further request of the committee occupied the commodious residence of Mr. J. H. Grafton, secured for our use by the committee, and there "kept house" and assisted in the entertainment of the guests of the city.

We never spent a week more pleasantly, and surely we never had a busier week.

The attendance from the very first day was so great and so enthusiastic that everybody was filled with rejoicing. The citizens of Marietta beautifully and generously decorated the city. Every house was covered with flags, not only our own flag, but the flags of other nations were profusely displayed.

Speaking of these flags reminds me that Senator William M. Evarts of New York, was one of the guests of the occasion and delivered one of the principal addresses. I

was assigned the duty of meeting him at the depot and entertaining him during his stay with us. As we were riding from the depot to my temporary residence I called his attention to the decorations, remarking, "You see our people are displaying the flags of all the nations." He looked, and instantly remarked, "Yes, I see; and *all* the flags of this nation."

The proceedings of this celebration were carefully and elaborately reported and published as a state document. This publication can be found in the state library, and perhaps in every other public library of Ohio.

It is unnecessary, therefore, to review it here in detail. Moreover, it would be impossible to give in epitome what was said in the many excellent addresses that were delivered. They must be read in full—in their entirety—in order to be fully appreciated.

It is enough to say here that this official report will be found a source of most interesting information to every student of our early history, and nowhere can there be found more able, eloquent and instructive speeches.

Every State of the Northwest Territory was fittingly and ably represented on the rostrum.

In addition we had interesting addresses from representatives of Massachusetts, New York and Virginia.

The Honorable John W. Daniel, then a member of the United States Senate from the state of Virginia, spoke for the "Mother of Presidents." My acquaintance with him in connection with that celebration was followed by a closer acquaintance and a warm personal friendship in after years when I had the honor to serve with him as his senatorial colleague.

Female orators were not so common then as now, but, nevertheless we were favored with one of the ablest and most womanly and influential of all the women who have distinguished themselves in America as public speakers, in the person of Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, of Massachusetts.

Senator Sherman was present and made, as always, an able and interesting speech.

General Charles H. Grosvenor, then a member of congress from the Athens district, made an exceedingly interesting and readable address.

Among others who spoke was my old friend and schoolmate, Hon. David K. Watson, then Attorney General, who paid fitting tribute to our pioneer state builders in beautiful and eloquent language.

Hon. John C. Lee of Toledo, and quite a number of others made valuable contributions to the literature of the occasion.

One proceeding was of a character, not only because of its relation to that occasion, but because of its contemplated relation to the second centennial celebration of the same events, that I deem it my duty to repeat the record of it here in full.

Wednesday, July 18, 1888, was designated "Pioneer Day." The Honorable George M. Woodbridge, a citizen of Marietta, was selected as temporary chairman and Gen. Thomas Ewing, then a citizen of New York, as permanent chairman of the day. The program for the day announced:

Welcome to the City, by Hon. Josiah Coulter, Mayor, who will present a gavel, the gift of the Women's Centennial Association, to Hon. Jos. B. Foraker, Governor of Ohio, by him to be given to General Thomas Ewing, President of the Day.

Response. General Thomas Ewing.

The following is the record made when this order of business was reached:

Mr. Woodbridge.—The next regular exercises will be remarks from the Mayor of the city of Marietta, Mr. Coulter.

WELCOME ADDRESS OF HON. JOSIAH COULTER,
Mayor of Marietta.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—In behalf of the citizens of Marietta, I welcome you to the city to take part in the Centennial celebration, the celebration of the establishment of civil government in the Northwest Territory. His excellency, Gov. J. B. Foraker (turning to the Governor, who stood by his side), by request of the Women's Centennial Association of Washington County, Ohio, I present to you this gavel to

be presented to General Ewing, to be used upon this occasion and then to be sealed in a box, and placed in the custody of the commissioners, by them to be placed in a fireproof room of the Washington County Court House, for safekeeping, until it shall be opened on the next centennial in 1988.

I do not imagine, sir, that either you or I, or any of this vast audience, will be present to see the box opened; but I, for one, should like to see whether our great and glorious country had made the advance towards national greatness in the next one hundred years that it has in the past. (Applause.)

RESPONSE OF GOV. J. B. FORAKER, ON PRESENTATION OF GAVEL.

Gen. Ewing, you are an Ohio man. (Applause.) You were born in our State and you have spent here most of your life. You know, therefore, something about the women of Ohio. You know that they are both good and beautiful. (Applause.) And you must know, also, that they are always engaged in doing something that is good. (Applause.) If the men of Ohio have won for the State honor and distinction and renown, in the past century, it has been largely due to the fact that they have had the constant encouragement and assistance of the women of Ohio.

In that respect they are the worthy descendants and representatives of the noble women who so greatly and grandly aided our forefathers in the achievement of American independence, and in laying here the foundation of civil government for this Northwest Territory. (Applause.)

These women of Ohio have labored earnestly and zealously to bring forth this celebration. In that behalf they organized what they called a "Women's Centennial Association," and it has been a most powerful agency in achieving the success which we have here enjoyed.

These women, Gen. Ewing, remember you. How could they forget you? (Laughter and applause.) They remember you, sir, as a gallant soldier and a distinguished son of Ohio; and they remember you, also, as a member of one of the most distinguished and most honored families of our great State. (Applause.)

Your action, therefore, in coming here upon their invitation to participate in these exercises has been most gratifying to them indeed. They appreciate the compliment you pay them and the honor that you do us. They have been anxious, therefore, to give in some proper way an appropriate testimonial of their appreciation for your action in so doing, and for the sentiment and the occasion on account of which we have convened. With that object in view, they have caused to be prepared this beautiful gavel, and have commissioned me to present it to you, with the request that you will use it as your badge and token of authority in the discharge of the duties upon which you are about to enter, and that when you are done with it, instead of carrying it off with you to New York (laughter), you will cause it to be placed in this box, which is a wooden box on the outside but a copper box on the

inside, and then have it placed, as the Mayor has just indicated, in a fireproof vault, for preservation through the next century, and for use on the occasion of the celebration of the Second Centennial Anniversary of the institution of civil government here by him who will then be honored with the privilege of officiating, as you are to officiate today.

The gavel is made of wood, as you see, and it is ornamented and bound with silver. The handle of the gavel is taken from the door of that one of the blockhouses of Campus Martius, in which Governor St. Clair had his headquarters, and in which was held the first court of justice that was ever convened in the Northwest Territory.

That portion of this gavel is intended to remind us of the civil government that our fathers established, and at the same time of the dangers they encountered in that behalf, and of the heroism and valor and soldier-like qualities they were called upon to display, to the end that they might maintain, uphold and enforce that government. (Applause.)

The hammer or mallet part of this gavel is taken from the wood used in the first schoolhouse ever built on Ohio soil, and is intended to remind us of the wisdom that has been abundantly demonstrated in our experience of the declaration of the ordinance which proclaimed that knowledge, among other things, was necessary to good government. (Applause.)

And the silver with which the mallet is ornamented is intended to represent the unspeakable beauty and symmetry of the governmental structure which our fathers erected (applause) and the imperishable value of the blessings that have followed therefrom and that are hereafter, we trust, to follow therefrom for the benefit of mankind. (Renewed applause.)

The direction which these ladies have given as to the preservation and future use of this gavel indicate the unbounded, unfaltering, womanlike confidence of these women in the perpetuity of American institutions.

I give you this gavel, sir, with these simple explanations, in the hope and in the firm belief that the confidence which these women have thus manifested is through the mercy and goodness of God, not to be disappointed, but justified and realized. (Applause.)

Response of Hon. Thomas Ewing on Receiving the Gavel.

Governor Foraker, I thank you for the complimentary terms in which you have presented me this interesting and useful memento. I do not flatter myself that the distinguished honor of presiding on this occasion has been conferred upon me by the "Women's Centennial Association" from any merit or service of my own.

I am proud to remember that I am a son of Thomas Ewing (applause) and a grandson of George Ewing, one of the pioneers whose settlement we commemorate today.

I have accepted with great pleasure the duties imposed upon me here. I will use the gavel today and then place it in the strong box until the next centennial, when another assemblage of the descendants of the pioneers will convene upon this plain, and, when some elderly gentleman, a grandson or a great grandson of one of this audience, will take the gavel from its repository and again use it as the symbol of authority and order in that assemblage. And so from generation to generation, from century to century, will this gavel be used, as long as education and liberty regulated by law shall be preserved, honored and prized in what was once the Northwest Territory. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF MR. WOODBRIDGE, TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

I cannot remember the position I have occupied for a few moments without thanking the ladies who desired that I should act as temporary chairman of this meeting. God bless them and make them successful ever, as they have been in this enterprise.

In my boyhood days I heard much of Thomas Ewing, the salt-boiler. He lived out here in the hills. And so great was his desire for knowledge that by the light of the embers he studied his books and gained knowledge. After a time he was possessed with a wish to have further opportunities. He had no money to meet the expenses of a college education, and he went off, season after season, to Charleston, and there boiled salt and made money to pay his tuition, and came out of the institution of which he was a member with honors—I had almost said untold. I remember well that the professors of that college stimulated the young men of the country to effort by telling them what Thomas Ewing, the salt-boiler, had done.

After awhile he became a lawyer. He was co-temporary with Bonn and Peters and Stansbury and Wirt and the great men of that profession, and he was the peer of them all. He became a statesman, and as a statesman he lived when Clay and Webster, and Benton and Cass, and Calhoun and John Quincy Adams were upon the stage; and they all loved him; they admired him on account of his integrity and his ability.

He has gone to the grave! The lone and melancholy winds hold a requiem of his departure as they moan their leafy wail around his grave. But it is said he is not dead. That we have in "Young Tom" the personification of the father; and that he is a chip off the old block. (Applause.) That the mantle of the father has fallen upon him. Believing that to be so, I take pleasure this morning in introducing to this audience the Hon. Thomas Ewing, who just now spoke to you in ways that I know charmed you. He will preside over your deliberations during the hour and will address you upon subjects that will interest you very much. I take pleasure in introducing to you the Hon. Thomas Ewing. (Applause.)

Gen. Ewing then delivered one of the most notable of all the addresses of the celebration.

The Cincinnati Centennial.

The Centennial celebration at Cincinnati took the form of a great industrial exposition that continued for one hundred days. Cincinnati had been giving an exposition of the same order each year for a number of years.

In honor of the centennial year additional buildings were erected and great preparations were made to entertain the thousands of visitors it was foreseen, based on past experience, would attend.

These buildings occupied not only the site of the present Music Hall but grounds in the rear covering the canal and a small strip beyond, also a strip on the south side and another large space in front across the street in Washington park.

It was stated that these buildings covered forty-three acres, and there was assembled in them the greatest collection of exhibits in both quality and quantity ever until that time made anywhere in the western country.

It was formally opened on the 4th of July with a great parade in which I participated, accompanied by my military staff, and by exercises appropriate for such an occasion.

A great many distinguished people were present from other States, among them Governor James A. Beaver of Pennsylvania; Governor John M. Thayer of Nebraska; Governor Isaac P. Gray of Indiana; Lieutenant Governor Bryan of Kentucky. They came as official representatives of their respective States. Major Butterworth and Senator Sherman, together with a great many other distinguished citizens of our own state, were present. All those named made short addresses.

The duty was assigned me of delivering an address of welcome, with respect to which, and a very interesting event that immediately followed, I quote from the daily press accounts of the occasion:

Governor Foraker's very happy speech of welcome was enthusiastically received by the great audience, which was as appreciative as it was cultured.

It was just a few minutes before twelve o'clock when he concluded. The chorus then sang "Hallelujah" from Handel's Messiah, the volume of tone being swelled by the great audience joining in the refrain. Governor Foraker then announced that the commissioners were awaiting the signal to be sent by Mrs. Polk, widow of ex-President Polk, from Nashville. The signal was for the starting of the great driving wheel of the engine in Machinery Hall, power from which was to impart life to the different engines and the great electric dynamos. Before the Governor ceased speaking the mellow tap of the big brass gong, loaned by the officers of the Naval Observatory for the occasion, was heard on the stage. Eleven sharp, sonorous taps followed it. They were made by Mrs. Polk, who stood at the telegraph key at Nashville. Before the last tap had echoed the big wheel of the driving engine in Power Hall started noisily, motion was communicated to the great wide belting, and soon all the engines and big dynamos were in action. From the dynamos the quick current of electricity flashed through the wires, and in an instant the great circle of incandescent lights that hung in Music Hall sprang into brilliant light and life. The light effects were novel. They shone brightly against the dark, cloud-laden sky without. On the instant Governor Foraker came forward, and proposed that three cheers be given for the venerable and distinguished lady at Nashville who, by the pressure of her finger on a button, had brought life and light into the machinery and lamps of the great Exposition buildings three hundred miles away.

The cheers were given with enthusiasm and a tumultuous tiger was added.

The Columbus Centennial.

The celebration at Columbus was inaugurated on the 5th day of September, with another great parade which I, as Governor, reviewed from a stand erected on Broad street, at the north entrance to the capitol grounds.

After the review of the parade we repaired to the state fair grounds, where the exposition was located, and the opening exercises took place. Governor J. Q. A. Brackett of Massachusetts, with his staff and a number of distinguished citizens of his state, 48 in all,—the exact number who landed at Marietta, April 7, 1788,—attended and added greatly to the impressiveness of the occasion.

After appropriate addresses in which the exposition was formally turned over to me as Governor in some well chosen remarks made by General Samuel H. Hurst, as chairman of the committee having the exposition in charge, to which I made response, Mrs. Foraker, in accordance

with a pre-arranged program, touched the electric button which put the machinery in motion.

In addition to these official centennial celebrations we had numerous other semi-official centennial celebrations. In fact almost every public occasion was turned into a celebration of the founding of our commonwealth.

These occasions were too numerous for all of them to be mentioned. I shall speak of only two.

The Annual meeting of the Loyal Legion held at Cincinnati on the 3rd of May was attended by Gen. William T. Sherman, Rutherford B. Hayes, Governor Lucius Fairchild, ex-Governor Noyes, Gen. Manning F. Force, Gen. M. D. Leggett, Gen. Charles H. Grosvenor, Gen. Jacob D. Cox, ex-Governor; General Andrew Hickenlooper, Gen. Orland Smith, General Willard H. Warner, Gen. Henry C. Corbin, Gen. J. Warren Keifer, Gen. James Barnett, Gen. Joshua H. Bates, Gen. John P. Rea, National Commander of the G. A. R., and many others who had served in the Union army with distinction, and who were then prominent in civil and official life. Gen. Sherman presided, and did so in his characteristic manner, as the following report of the proceedings indicates.

General Sherman was received with prolonged cheering as he rose to make the opening address. He said:

"*Gentlemen:*—I ask your attention, as you've a pretty long bill before you. It's printed in pretty fine type, especially the poetry, but I guess you'll skip that anyway. (Laughter.) I ask that the music and quartets be curtailed, for, according to my calculations, eight toasts, with intervening music, will swell the time to three or four hours more. That may be all well enough for you young fellows, but it's death to us old ones. (Laughter.) I've been through the mill.

"The first on the programme is my welcome to you, gentlemen. Now, I needn't welcome you; you welcome me. But you certainly are welcome beneath these beautiful banners, and in this pleasant old hotel, around which linger memories dear to me and dear to nearly every one of us here—the old Burnet House, probably the most famous of all the hostelries west of the Alleghenies. You are most welcome here (applause), but I myself don't intend to mar that welcome by being prolix or enlarging upon anything. Therefore I call upon the quartet to sing one of their best but shortest pieces." (Laughter.)

The "quartet," composed of Major W. R. Lowe, and Messrs. Mayer, Robinson, Jones, Tice, Smith, Males and Vattier, then sang exquisitely "Tenting on the Old Camp-ground."

General Sherman then said: "We old soldiers once thought we were the only soldiers that ever fought. There were brave men before Agamemnon, and your committee tonight have selected as a toast those brave and good men—as good as we are or profess to be—who came here and founded the great State which now honors you. The Governor of this great State has come down from Columbus tonight to respond not for the great glories of the State, but for our ancestors. I will read the toast but none of the poetry." (Laughter.)

General Sherman then read the title of Governor Foraker's response and introduced the Governor, who was received with a round of long and enthusiastic cheers.

GOVERNOR FORAKER'S RESPONSE.

The soldiers who founded Ohio one hundred years ago.

"Here, where but late a dreary forest spread,
Putnam a little band of soldiers led,
And soon beheld, with patriotic joy elate,
The infant settlement become a State."

"Mr. Commander and Companions:—I have not had time to give much study or thought to this sentiment, but the little attention I have bestowed upon it has been sufficient to teach that it is fruitful of many interesting and important suggestions; far more than can be properly treated in an after-dinner speech. I have, therefore, concluded to speak in a very general way of only two ideas. I shall content myself with a few words about the men referred to by the toast, and a few additional remarks about the work which they performed.

"It would require more time than it would be proper to occupy to speak of these men individually. I could not do justice within such a limit to only the leading and most distinguished characters. In fact, the life, character, services and virtues of Rufus Putnam alone would require more time than is at my disposal. I shall, therefore, dismiss this part of the subject with the simple statement that the 'soldiers who founded Ohio one hundred years ago' were not a characterless band of adventurers, seeking a personal fortune, as have been too frequently the vanguards of civilization. They were, on the contrary, men of high standing socially, professionally and politically—men of repute and celebrity in the communities from which they came.

"Most of them had been soldiers in the Revolutionary War, and several of them had attained renown and distinction as such. This was especially true of Putnam, who had not only attained a high military rank, and become distinguished as probably the most competent military engineer of the American army, but who had so far attracted the attention and gained the confidence of Washington as to be one of his most trusted friends and advisers; and what was true in this respect of Putnam is but typical of what was true as to each one of his associates in a greater or less degree.

"But not only were they men who had braved the dangers and undergone the hardships of a soldier's life in the struggle for American independence, but they were also men of education, of good morals, of

culture and refinement, and, far above all else, they were men who had a just, profound and even solemn appreciation of the importance of the great work to which, in the providence of God, they had been called. They realized that they were the beginning of a mighty people; that they came to found a State and establish institutions of government that were destined to exert a potent influence upon the whole country and all the generations that should come after them.

"When I have said of them that they were men of good morals, education, refinement and culture; that they had been soldiers of distinction, winning the notice and confidence of Washington, and that they had an intelligent and just appreciation of their mission, I have paid them the highest tribute that it is possible for language to express.

"I do not know what thought prompted the selection of this sentiment as one of the toasts for this occasion. It may be due to the fact that this is our Centennial year, and hence it is natural to think of events that transpired a century ago; or it may have been in recognition of the fact that the work which these men did sustains a close relation to that which it fell to our lot to do.

"But, however that may be, the fact is that what they did bears so close a relation to that which brings us together this evening that it is pre-eminently proper that the soldiers gathered about this festal board should remember the soldiers whom this sentiment calls to mind. For their labors and achievements in a high degree paved the way for Appomattox and the victory that there crowned our arms. It is but stating an historical truth to say that these humble pioneers are in effect so closely identified with us that they are really true Union soldiers as much as we. . . .

"Hence it was that when 1861 came we had not only a free, liberty-loving and Union-loving North and Northwest, but we had, in the five States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin alone, a population of more than ten million people, from whom the government received not only a moral and financial support, without which it could never have endured; but also Abraham Lincoln himself; and, counting re-enlistments, more than 900,000 of the best and bravest of the boys in blue, including Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Logan, McPherson and I don't know how many others of our greatest Generals whose names will forever shine in the pages of American history as do the stars in the firmament of heaven.

"I know it is unnecessary to say more to indicate what I would impress. Had not the 'soldiers who founded Ohio one hundred years ago' builded as they did we could not have saved as we did, and had we not saved as we did these founders would have builded in vain. Hence it is that their work and ours will go into history, hand in hand, upon the same plane. They were our comrades and we are theirs, and, therefore, it is that we do well when we meet to cherish the recollections of our companionship and rejoice in the blessings of our perpetual Union to remember with gratitude and praise our predecessors of one hundred years ago."

Governor Foraker's fervent, eloquent speech was enthusiastically applauded, and when he took his seat, flushed and smiling, General Sherman arose and said, "I didn't desire to curtail such speeches as

Governor Foraker has just made. I think it's the best speech of the night. There are other speeches. We are like the head of the column and in a hurry to advance, and not looking after the tail. Now I am thinking of the tail. (Applause.) Governor Foraker's speech will be favorably received in Ohio, judging from the number of Centennial celebrations I've been invited to attend." (Laughter and applause.)

Among the "notes" of this occasion is the following, which, in view of the fact that I am writing these chapters for the benefit of my family rather than for anybody else, I insert with much pleasure:

Mrs. Foraker, the Governor's charming wife, came down with him from Columbus yesterday. Her family of three bright daughters accompanied her. The family took dinner at the Burnet, after which the Misses Foraker went out into the suburbs to visit friends. Mrs. Foraker remained at the hotel, and during the evening was the observed of all observers. While the battle-scarred veterans and valiant heroes of other days were marching to the banquet hall she sat with a number of other ladies, in the upper corridor of the hotel, enjoying the warlike scene. She was becomingly attired in a rich costume of black lace, which was relieved by brilliant diamond ornaments. She carried in her hand a bouquet of choice flowers, the gift of one of her husband's friends. During the supper she entertained a number of callers in the corridor, and then upon invitation was escorted into the banquet hall. As she entered the room she was the cynosure of all eyes, and her presence was greeted with a round of decorous but hearty applause. Mrs. Foraker was perceptibly moved by the compliment, which was as delicate as it was generous. She was given a desirable seat and listened to the bursts of oratory and patriotism with evident appreciation.

The G. A. R. National Encampment.

The other semi-official celebration I would mention was the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, held that year in Columbus.

Some idea of the immense attendance and the extraordinary enthusiasm that characterized this occasion may be gathered from the following headlines of the descriptive account of the parade: "Without a Parallel;" "The Grand Parade, Unequalled;" "The Grand Review at Washington in '65 Said Not to Surpass that of Yesterday;" "Five Hours in Passing a Given Point—70,000 Men Salute the Commander-in-Chief and Others in Review;" "Over 200,000 Strangers Present, at a Low Estimate."

These striking headlines were fully justified by the facts.

Among the distinguished people present were Gen. William T. Sherman, ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, Gen. Lucius Fairchild of Wisconsin; Gen. Kelly, immediate commander of Gen. Hayes' regiment while serving in the Army of West Virginia; Governor John M. Thayer, who was Major General and commanded a division in the Army of the Tennessee; Gen. A. P. Hovey of Indiana; Gen. Thomas J. Wood, and many others who had rendered distinguished military service.

Together with these on the reviewing stand were Hon. Allen G. Thurman, at that time Democratic candidate for Vice President on the ticket with Mr. Cleveland; Mrs. Gen. John A. Logan and son, John A. Logan, Jr.; Col. Fred D. Grant and Mrs. Grant; Mrs. Crook, widow of Gen. Crook, my old brigade commander; Mrs. R. B. Hayes, and hundreds of others scarcely less distinguished.

Marching with their respective state organizations of Grand Army men were such distinguished soldiers and citizens as Gen. R. A. Alger; Hon. Warner Miller, then a candidate for Governor of the State of New York; Governor Jeremiah M. Rusk of Wisconsin, and scores of others who took great pride in thus participating in the wonderful display.

Only one incident marred the occasion in the slightest, and that did no serious injury. It was a very warm day and a Presidential campaign was in progress. Some enterprising merchant on the line of march, foreseeing that fans might be acceptable to the marchers, and assuming that their political complexion would be Republican, had prepared a bountiful supply, on each of which was printed on one side an attractive advertisement of the donor's business and on the other a picture of General Harrison, the Republican candidate. As the column passed his place each man was furnished with one.

There were, doubtless, many Democrats among the marchers, but nevertheless when the column passed the

reviewing stand it appeared that each man was carrying a fan with General Harrison's picture on it.

After this had gone on for two or three hours Senator Thurman manifested some displeasure and remarked that he supposed he was invited to review a non-political organization, but he found he was in attendance upon a "damned Republican mass meeting," from which attendance he asked to be excused and insisted upon retiring.

Inasmuch as the fan feature was purely accidental and everybody esteemed Senator Thurman personally very highly there was general regret on account of this incident.

That night at the principal camp fire held during the encampment Gen. William H. Gibson was the chief speaker. He took occasion to defend the Grand Army from the charge that they were offensively displaying their political preferences by explaining how the trouble came about.

General Gibson was one of the most gifted orators of his day. He was especially felicitous on occasions of that character. He had been a gallant soldier, and knew from personal contact with them, both in the army and afterward, how to touch the hearts of his comrades. At the same time he had a keen sense of humor and an inimitable style that made him a prime favorite with popular audiences, especially soldier audiences.

On this occasion he excelled himself, but no part of his speech was longer remembered, or more talked about, than his so-called explanation and apology.

He reminded his G. A. R. auditors that their organization was non-political; that its purpose was the cultivation of fraternity, charity and loyalty. In beautiful phrases he elaborated this triple sentiment and then enjoined upon them to remember that when they came to an encampment they must leave their politics at home and avoid all appearances of having forgotten to do so.

He expressed regret for the incident of the afternoon, explained its accidental character, publicly apologized to

all who might have been offended, and then his Republicanism and sense of humor got the better of him and before he probably realized how it would sound he told his comrades that if, however, on such occasions, they should happen to forget themselves and "holler" for anybody they should be sure to "holler for Harrison." It is needless to say that laughter and long continued applause followed this remark.

CHAPTER XXI.

PREPARING FOR THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1888.

ANNO DOMINI 1888 was an important time in Ohio politics. Senator Hanna, who made his first appearance in both state and national politics in 1884, suddenly loomed into great prominence as a party leader.

Our association and co-operation at Chicago in support of the candidacy of Mr. Sherman for the nomination by the Convention of that year led to a very warm friendship, to which the many letters that passed between us bear witness.

As already shown, he actively favored my renomination for Governor in 1885, and in a local way actively contributed to my election. He wrote me frequently and visited me at Columbus a number of times, and I, in response to cordial invitations, visited him and his family with Mrs. Foraker and other members of my family.

During this period he was also becoming better acquainted with Senator Sherman, through whose influence he had been appointed a member of the Board of Directors of the Union Pacific railroad. The duties of this position took him frequently to Washington and brought him in contact with members of congress and others who made up the political official population of the capital. In this way he became well acquainted with the entire Ohio Republican delegation and quickly grew to be a favorite and influential with them. Although at times somewhat brusque in his manner, he was generally genial, affable, and buoyant. He had large means at his command, was a generous contributor when help was needed, and apparently

having no political ambitions for himself no jealousies were aroused against him. He had only friends.

Having supported Mr. Sherman in 1884 he naturally cherished a desire, quickened by this experience, to make another effort to nominate him in 1888.

When 1887 came and brought me the prominence gained at New York and Pittsburg, and in connection with the proposed surrender of the rebel flags, on account of which disturbing apprehensions were excited in the minds of so many of Mr. Sherman's followers, he apparently continued entirely friendly. He evidenced this by a number of letters, from which I quote as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, February 18, 1887.

My Dear Governor:—I see that you have covered yourself all over with glory at the Lincoln Banquet, and I claim my share of the gratification. . . . The Eastern public seem to think that Ohio's Governor is a ——— good deal of a "feller," and you can count on me to help keep up the illusion. I have been intending to go to Columbus for the last month to have a little family talk with you about the future (that is, the *very near* future). As I have seen a good deal in the papers about your decision in regard to the next term of Governor, I will try and go soon.

Sincerely yours,
M. A. HANNA.

April 22nd, 1887, he wrote me again about a number of matters, but closed his letter with the following:

My Dear Governor:—. . . McKinley says he is coming up to be here at the time of the meeting of the State Committee, which, I believe, is May 4. Would it not be a good time for you to be here, and I also thought it might be well to have Sherman happen to be here at the same time. The opportunity offers an excuse for a council of war, etc. And there are many things needful to be done. I had made up my mind to attend to the iron business this year, but, of course, I can't go back on you. Thank the Lord, we will not need to spend any powder on any one but the enemy this year.

Truly yours,
M. A. HANNA.

I wrote him that, on account of an engagement in Cincinnati, I was unable to go to Cleveland as requested.

Many letters of a social nature passed between us during this period, but June 22nd, 1887, he wrote me with reference to the rebel flag incident as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, June 22, 1887.

My Dear Governor:—I have just returned from the East and see that you are completely "snowed under" with taffy messages. So I will spare you one more. However, I can not refrain from saying that I am glad. Brinsmade asked me yesterday if I would serve on the Executive Committee this year. It seems almost absurd for me to take the place, as there is so little I can do and attend to my pressing business cares. But if *you* want me on that committee, on I go. Only it occurred to me that you could get some one more efficient and I would do just as much on or off. *That* you can depend on. I had a letter from McKinley inviting me down to Canton Friday night, as Sherman was to be there. Don't know what the occasion is. I am going to my Lake Side place this week, and as soon as we are settled I want you and Asa Bushnell with your wives to come up and make me a visit. By the way, tell Benson (*my son*) that the steamer *Cambria* is in commission, and although he had not applied for a position, I have kept a place for him. . . .

Kindest regards to Mrs. F.

Sincerely yours,
M. A. HANNA.

He next wrote as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, July 2, 1887.

My Dear Governor:—I went to Canton last week and I understand by the Democratic press that I helped to concoct a scheme to slaughter your political future. That is just like me, is it not? What a slave you are getting to be. (To the public I mean.) Well, that is the price of great personal popularity. When you get tired out and want a good, *quiet* rest (with good company) come up to my box on the Lake Shore and you shall have it.

. . . . . .

Sincerely yours,
M. A. HANNA.

I quote briefly from the Cleveland *Plain Dealer's* account of the Canton conference to which Mr. Hanna refers, but dismisses with such scant notice, in his letter of July 2nd, as follows:

. . . the truth is that the party leaders have resolved to extinguish Mr. Foraker, not only as a Presidential quantity, but as a gubernatorial candidate as well. . .

Those present were all Sherman men and all were duly impressed with the necessity of carrying Ohio next fall in order that Sherman may not go into the National Convention next year as the representative of a Democratic State. All felt that if Ohio should go Democratic next fall, it would be all up with the Sherman boom and John would be laid on the shelf for good. Hence the conference at Canton.

No Chance Against Thurman.

The situation was represented as being anything but pleasant. The nomination of Thurman by the Democrats seems now to be almost certain, and Amos Townsend very forcibly pointed out that it would be madness to oppose him with such a weak and dizzy-headed leader as Foraker has shown himself to be. Whether Foraker could, after his recent foolish performance and wild talk about the rebel flags, carry the State even against Powell he thought doubtful, but against Thurman he would have

Not the Ghost of a Chance.

Mark Hanna held the same views, and McKinley was of the opinion that Foraker would be beaten by Thurman by 50,000 majority.

. . . What Foraker will do is not yet known. . . . But he knows that if Sherman has determined to assume the leadership himself, there is nothing left for him to do but to retire with the best grace he can. That the Canton conference has resulted in putting this humiliating necessity before him there can be no doubt. Sherman, Foster, McKinley, Townsend and Hanna and all the others who attended the conference were all of the one mind as to the necessity for the step and were all agreed that to run Foraker as a candidate for Governor under the circumstances now existing and others reasonably certain to arise would be to invite certain and disastrous defeat. There is no doubt that Foraker must go.

Mr. Sherman wrote me June 28th (p. 260) to deny the story as published and to tell me this conference was on his part only a "social and agreeable visit," but any conference at such a time among such leaders in the party, without notice to me, the prospective candidate for re-election, might well be regarded by me, as it was, when I learned the nature of it, as not including among its purposes the promotion of my political welfare. The only inference consistent with common sense was, as the sequence showed, that a lot of political Indians were getting ready for the war path. All their tracks pointed in that direction. No one saw fit to give me any account of the conference, except the statement of Mr. Sherman in his letter of June 28th that his visit there

was "social and agreeable," until after three weeks of sensational mischief-making publications and re-publications about it in Democratic newspapers, when unwittingly Mr. Hanna "turned state's evidence" and convicted all of participation in a purely political conference by writing me as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, July 19, 1887.

My Dear Governor:—This matter of the indorsement of Senator Sherman for the Presidency has become a matter of such general interest and discussion that I feel anxious to know your views on the subject (as I can tell nothing from newspaper articles). When I heard the Senator's views as he expressed them at Canton (*on the occasion of his "social and agreeable visit"*) I felt that he was entitled to know the sentiment of the party in Ohio before he permitted his name to be again presented to a National Convention. At that time I favored a resolution at the Toledo Convention, as I could not see why it could in any way affect your campaign unfavorably. Of course, this was with the provision that such a course would meet with the indorsement of a large majority of the convention. I find that a great number of the leaders of the party here are of the same opinion, but our paper, *The Leader*, is opposed to it, which was to be expected, as Cowles is at heart opposed to Sherman. Your most devoted friends in this section are Sherman men, and none of us would want to take part in any move that would injure either of you. Therefore, what I want to know is, do you object to it? I understood that you did not, and, therefore, have not asked you the question before. You can write me frankly and in full confidence.

Sincerely yours,
M. A. HANNA.

Is Bushnell a candidate for Senator?

To which I replied:

HON. M. A. HANNA, July 20, 1887.
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—I have your letter of the 19th inst. This Sherman indorsement business is exceedingly unfortunate in all its aspects, and I scarcely know what is best to be done in regard to it. Your remark that you were informed that I favored it makes it necessary for me to state some facts. The proposition was first suggested to me by General Grosvenor in April last. I at once dissented and earnestly opposed it as calculated to do injury both to the party and Senator Sherman. I heard nothing more about it except what cropped out in the newspapers from time to time, until I met Senator Sherman at Findlay, when I was surprised to learn that he had not only been countenancing it but desired such a resolution. Until then I had regarded it only as the folly of over-zealous friends. As soon as I saw that the Senator himself was at the bottom of it, I went over the whole ground with

him, dwelling particularly upon the effect of such a resolution upon himself. I told him that while most of the newspapers in the State were favoring him, yet there were many among the voters who would not and that they would be represented at the convention. For if the resolution was introduced it would in my judgment meet with considerable spirited opposition, and that in consequence a fight upon it would indicate that under our system of electing delegates by districts he could not possibly have a solid delegation next year, and that would, I thought, destroy his candidacy.

I suggested, in lieu of the resolution, that he attend the convention, be made its permanent chairman, and that we adopt a resolution commending and eulogizing him as our Senator, saying that in my opinion such action would not meet with any opposition, and, taken in connection with his recent election to the Senate by the unanimous vote of the Republicans of the General Assembly, would indicate that he had the State at his back as he never had it before. He agreed with me that if there should be any opposition, and it was simply on the basis that there would be, that our discussion proceeded, it would be wise not to have a resolution of indorsement, and accept instead what I suggested, and General Grosvenor and I undertook, when the time should come, to frame such a resolution. I did not know a change from this plan was contemplated until this step was taken. Inasmuch as it was taken without consultation with me, and in violation of our understanding, I did not feel called upon to take up the cudgel in its behalf. Considering my prospective relation to the canvass, I ought to have been heard, at least, before anything was done that was to bring on such a controversy as this has occasioned; but I am not standing on any point of this kind. I am keeping out of the fight rather because I do not want to fight Sherman or any other Republican and I can not conscientiously or consistently fight for him in this respect. And above all else, if I am to be a candidate, I have no right to gather as against myself, as such candidate, any of the bitterness that would surely result from an active participation on one side or the other. I have endeavored to say to the public just what I have said here, but I say it here at length only that I may give you the reasons why I am "neither for nor against."

Bushnell put me on the fence with his famous letter about prohibition in 1885, and Sherman has put me there now with his indorsement resolution. I do not like to be sitting around with nothing to do when the fight is going on, but I do not see how I can help it.

Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.

Kind regards to Mrs. Hanna and the children.

I mention all this with particularity because a Mr. Croly in a book he has written and published about Mr. Hanna says, page 132: "Mr. Foraker had privately opposed the indorsement of Sherman's candidacy by the

State Convention of 1887, which renominated him for Governor, but yielded to the demand only on compulsion." I have already shown that there never was anything "private" on my part in regard to that matter—that, on the contrary, "private" work was confined to the other side; that through the newspapers the public had full information as to my attitude with respect thereto, and that Mr. Sherman was frankly and fully advised by letters, and otherwise, as the correspondence now presented shows that Mr. Hanna was.

So far as I can recall nothing more passed between us until September 8th, more than a month after the Toledo Convention, when I wrote him as follows:

September 8, 1887.

My Dear Hanna:—I am speechless, but I think may be I can write a word or two. Mr. Kurtz has just handed me your "compliments," and I have accepted with a heart full of thanks and appreciation. I do so because I know such is your wish and because it will enable me to serve the "Common Cause" with greater zeal and efficiency, I hope; with greater comfort, I know. May the Lord bless and prosper you and yours. I can only say "thank you" again and add that I hope the future may enable me to show more fully than I can write how greatly you have obliged me.

Very truly yours,
J. B. Foraker.

Hon. M. A. Hanna,
Cleveland, Ohio.

His "compliments" to which I refer was a check for $1,000, which he asked Mr. Kurtz to give me as a contribution toward campaign expenses. I mention this also because Mr. Croly says, page 126: " . . . he [Mr. Hanna] assisted Mr. Foraker with money at a time, when, to judge from the warmth of the latter's thanks, such assistance was extremely necessary." Of necessity Mr. Croly referred to this particular contribution, for there never was any other. I am glad he records the fact that I expressed grateful appreciation. Mr. Hanna answered, showing his appreciation of my appreciation.

Cleveland, Ohio, September 8, 1887.

My Dear Governor:—I am in receipt of your kind letter of yesterday and believe I am glad to be able to do you a little service. I fully

appreciate your situation and know how much of a drain it is upon your *fat salary*. So don't feel the obligation only to the extent of the friendship I feel for you *personally*. You were very kind to think of me in connection with your trip to Gettysburg, and I am very sorry I could not go. Will hope to see you here sometime before long.

Sincerely yours,
M. A. Hanna.

To sum up, Mr. Hanna took no part whatever in the ante-convention controversy about the indorsement of Mr. Sherman, except to attend the conference at Canton with McKinley, Foster, Townsend and others, and never expressed himself on that point, so far as I am aware, except in his letters to me of June 22nd and July 19th. He did not attend the convention, but showed his satisfaction with its results by serving on the committee and making the contribution mentioned. So that whatever the nature of the conference may have been it did not do me any harm or Sherman any good, so far as the State Convention of that year was concerned, since, as already shown, McKinley attended the convention and there opposed indorsement (p. 268) in the committee and "yielded to the demand only on compulsion." Perhaps Mr. Croly got the names of Foraker and McKinley mixed, or may it have been a part of the plan of somebody to keep McKinley personally free from the obligation of the pledge of the party? And may not the same thought have had something to do with Mr. Hanna's failure to attend the convention? Surely there was some good reason for his absence from a convention that was to take action that would have an important effect on a candidacy of which he was already in charge.

However all that may be, after the election he wrote me a number of times about different appointments. Our correspondence shows that I always honored his recommendations when I could, and that in a few instances where I could not I expressed regret.

One of these matters gives us a glimpse of his relations at that time with Major McKinley.

Oil Inspector.

Shortly after my election in 1885, and before I was inaugurated, Professor Hartshorn of Union College, Alliance, O., an ex-State Senator, came to me at Cincinnati with a letter from Major McKinley recommending him for appointment as Oil Inspector. There was already a contest for this office, and at that time I could only promise to give his recommendation consideration.

I concluded finally to appoint Col. Louis Smithnight, of Cleveland, who had held the office by appointment from Governor Foster, and who was strongly supported by the Governor and almost everybody else in Northern Ohio then active in politics.

I was not aware until after I had thus failed to appoint Hartshorn that McKinley was specially anxious to have him appointed. One reason for my failure to understand McKinley's special desire was that another applicant for the same office was Mr. C. V. Shoub of East Liverpool, also within McKinley's district, and he presented a strong recommendation from McKinley and insisted to me that McKinley wanted him, and nobody else, appointed, because of active and efficient work he had done for him among the voters of that great pottery center. I was sorry to learn that McKinley had a decided preference for Hartshorn and was seemingly much disappointed by my failure to appoint him. I was naturally anxious to make amends.

When I was re-elected in 1887 McKinley renewed his recommendation of Hartshorn. At the same time Mr. Hanna brought forward a candidate in the person of William M. Bayne of Cleveland; while a third candidate was Mr. George B. Cox of Cincinnati. I talked frankly with all, but asked Hanna, as a mutual friend, and apparently more disinterested than the others, to aid in bringing about some reasonably satisfactory adjustment. The controversy was finally ended by the appointment of Mr. Cox to be oil inspector and, through an arrangement made by Hanna and McKinley, the appointment of Mr. Hartshorn to be deputy oil inspector for the Alliance district, extended and

enlarged so as to include East Liverpool, where an old soldier and most excellent man by the name of Col. Frederick was the deputy under Smithnight. With these explanations the following correspondence will be better understood:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, November 28, 1887.

My Dear Governor:—I have finally got your friend Hartshorn, of McKinley's district, fixed. He had commenced again about the State Oil Inspectorship, and McKinley had come to me saying that something must be done for him. An opportunity offered. Kelly, Smithnight's deputy at Alliance, had played false at the last election, and Morgan, with other leading Republicans, demanded his removal. So that after a talk with Smithnight I got Hartshorn to agree that if he was given that position now and a wider field, provided Smithnight was reappointed, he would be satisfied and make no further effort for the position of State Inspector. Of course McKinley is satisfied, and I hope this will end that vexed question and relieve you on McKinley's account.

. . . . . .

Truly yours,
M. A. HANNA.

HON. M. A. HANNA, November 30, 1887.
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—. . . Colonel Smithnight was here today to see me about the Hartshorn matter. I can not write you all I would like to say on this subject. I told the Colonel to do whatever you and McKinley wanted if it would satisfy Hartshorn. At the same time, between you and me, I think it will be difficult to satisfy him, and that McKinley is wasting his energies—to some extent at least; but that is his own matter. I want to help him all I can, and am thankful to you for what you have done in bringing about the arrangement which has been suggested. I want it understood, however, that the responsibility for the displacement of Frederick, at East Liverpool, who is an excellent man and an old soldier, must rest on McKinley. I shall not say anything about it myself unless it becomes necessary in self-defense. My opinion is that Frederick and his friends will make some complaint.

Hoping you can come down to the inauguration, if not sooner, I remain, Very truly yours, etc.,
J. B. FORAKER.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, December 3, 1887.

My Dear Governor:—. . . Old Hartshorn was here yesterday and had a meeting with Colonel Smithnight. Everything has been arranged to suit the old cuss, and I hope you and I are through with him. I think McKinley is sick of him. Sincerely yours,
M. A. HANNA.

My files show that before Mr. Hartshorn was finally installed in office Mr. Hanna wrote me eight additional letters in which, among other things, he further urged that Hartshorn be taken care of, although after once settled nothing of the kind was necessary. The fact is interesting to show his spirit of insistence at that time about small matters, which was to become such an important factor when, later, he applied it to larger matters.

His activities with respect to appointments were not confined to the Oil Inspector and his deputies, but embraced all kinds of positions concerning which I saw fit to consult him, and some about which I had not consulted him, even those of a judicial character, although he said in a letter (November 10, 1887), "I am a better judge of other things than I am of lawyers." He was kind, painstaking, and free with his recommendations and objections—perfectly so—as I requested and desired him to be in all such matters.

I mention all this to show that he was still on sufficiently friendly and familiar terms with me to have felt perfectly free to confer with me if he had supposed I was doing anything to which he, as Mr. Sherman's manager, had a right to take exception. Our subsequent correspondence shows he knew there were mischief makers at work, but that I was not one of them.

But it was not until March 8, 1888, that, so far as I was concerned, he turned his attention to the subject of delegates to the National Convention.

He then wrote me as follows:

ATLANTIC CITY, March 8, 1888.

My Dear Governor:—I have just returned here after a week in Washington. While there I was principally engaged in Union Pacific business, but found some time to devote myself to politics in the interest of our candidate. I saw a great deal of the Senator, and, being in his confidence, think I have done some good in letting a little light into his vision in regard to State politics. Besides, have also tried to bring about a better feeling among many of his supporters there who were drifting apart, just for the want of some one to tell them that they were playing boy, and losing sight of the more important matter by looking through green glass. But the story is too long and important to attempt in a letter, so I will wait until I see you before I can give

you all particulars. One thing, however, which I found was giving the Senator a great deal of anxiety, and I think he may write to you about it, that is, the contention and what appears to be a bad fight in the Columbus district against George Nash. It seems that there is liable to be two delegations chosen and a clash. Now, can't you stop that? You know how anxious I am to have all this old feeling healed up and the best of feeling and unanimity in the Ohio delegation. I don't want you to get entangled with any local or personal differences, for I tell you, Governor, I begin to think now that our man will win the nomination and election. I have agreed to do some work East which, if successful, will bet on Sherman's nomination. While doing this it would be bad for my cause to have it said there was any differences in Ohio. Therefore, for my sake, old man, as well as your own, stamp it out. George Nash of all men ought to go to Chicago. I don't take any stock in Neal—nor must you. I am not going to be a candidate as delegate-at-large, but will be on hand to do my work in the ranks. I can help prevent any feeling over this controversy about that position if my friends will trust me to be a "dove," as it were. A letter addressed here will find me.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Hanna.

I replied as follows:

Hon. M. A. Hanna, March 18, 1888.
Atlantic City, N. J.

My Dear Hanna:—I have your letter of the 8th inst., written at Atlantic City, advising me of the situation as you found it over in Washington. There is no serious trouble in this district. Mr. Bliss will no doubt be sent as a delegate, but he will support Senator Sherman just as long as either you or Judge Nash would or should support him. I do not think any one could have prevented his election, and so far as I know, there is no reason why any one should have done so. He is the chairman of the County Committee, a hard-working, pushing and driving Republican. Twenty years ago he was selling peanuts and newspapers on the streets and blacking boots. He is today a man worth probably $40,000 to $50,000; made every cent of it himself; owns a farm near Columbus; is now engaged in erecting a large building and starting in it the largest bakery, as I am told, of which the city of Columbus can boast. At the same time he is the city ticket agent of the I. B. & W. R. R. He is, in short, a hustler in politics and in everything else; can get over more ground in such contests in an hour than Judge Nash would try to cover in a week. Moreover, he is in every sense a gentleman, a member of the Methodist Church and just as active in church work as in business and politics.

I did not know anything about his being a candidate until long after he had become such. Upon inquiry, I learned that he announced during the campaign of last year that it was his ambition to go as a delegate from this district to the National Convention. From that day to this he has been, no doubt, looking after the matter. So I say I do not think any one could have defeated him, but however that may be, his

candidacy was in no sense whatever in opposition to Judge Nash or Senator Sherman. But whatever else may be said, I can not be held responsible for the failure to send Nash.

Senator Sherman wrote me some time ago, asking me to go as a delegate-at-large, but from that day until in the same mail with your letter I have had nothing from him in the nature of conferring about any of his interests here. I did not know he wanted Nash to go. I first heard, and I understand that is the fact, that General Walcutt was selected by some of the Senator's friends at Washington as their candidate, but afterward for some reason a change was made and Nash was requested to become a candidate, and I understand was a candidate for a time, but I heard nothing about it until I heard he had been a candidate and withdrawn.

The Senator wrote me also that he fears a double convention in the Xenia district. I shall not undertake to explain the situation there until I see you, except to say it will be a mistake to treat every one who may aspire to be a delegate as an enemy of Mr. Sherman, unless he is of his selection. I have told the Senator that nothing can prevent his having every delegate from Ohio, except officious intermeddling. The people will send their own selections and they should be allowed to do so.

You speak of my stamping things out. I have stamped out half a dozen things; among others, the Blaine banquet here and the Blaine movement in Cincinnati, about which I shall tell you when I see you. For the present I shall only remark that they were more of a job than I care to undertake again; and, judging from the lack of recognition of any kind, a great deal more of a job than the Senator has any knowledge of. But about all that I do not care.

So far as I am concerned, there is no trouble, and there will not be any. I have no ambition except to see the Senator have Ohio solid and the country accept him if they will, to which end I shall labor quite as zealously as I did in 1884, and you know what that means. When you come here, I will show you some correspondence which will indicate to you that I have from the first, and constantly until now, done my duty and my whole duty, and a great deal more than any one had a right to expect from me, since I have not only advanced the Senator's interests in every way I could, but I have done it, as an abundance of correspondence will testify, at the expense of being in direct and disappointing conflict with warm personal and political friends, not only in this State but others.

Yours very truly,

J. B. Foraker.

I then received the following:

New York, March 18, 1888.

My Dear Governor:—I am in receipt of yours of the 10th inst., being "snowed in" almost a week at Atlantic City. I am behind with my business and will be detained here until the last of the week. I will run down and see you very soon after my return. I have just received a letter from Senator Sherman. He says, "I have a letter from Gov-

ernor Foraker which is very satisfactory." I think I did a good thing while in Washington of which I will tell you on my return.

I am in a position now where if any jealousies come to the surface in Ohio, I can be of service. Certain influences have been abridged and I feel my position to be satisfactory for the interests of our party at home.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. HANNA.

Again, on the 27th of March, he wrote me as follows:

NEW YORK, March 27, 1888.

My Dear Governor:—I am still detained here by the severe sickness of my little daughter. But I am glad to say that her symptoms are all better this morning and the doctor assures me that he will have her in condition to travel in about a week. So I hope I can start for home by Saturday or Sunday.

While here I have been studying the political situation somewhat and am sorry to say that I am not pleased with the condition of the party in this city. There are some fellows here who are determined to perpetuate their political power by talking Blaine, hoping to spring his name when the time comes. I need not say that Steve Elkins and Tom Platt are in the deal. On the other hand, the business men who take a hand in politics and pay their money say that if Blaine is nominated again by any such tricking, they would not vote for him, etc., etc.

It makes me furious to see these fellows trying to kill off Sherman by belittling him, but the sensible business element is for Sherman, and I believe his chances are growing every day.

By the time I leave here I will know pretty well the inside of this business and I will come and see you soon after my return. If you get any overtures from this gang, set down on them, or authorize me to do so.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. HANNA.

This was the last letter I received from him in which he made any reference to Mr. Sherman's cause or the National Convention until after the State Convention.

While these letters were passing between Senator Hanna and myself the following were exchanged with Senator Sherman:

UNITED STATES SENATE.
Committee on Foreign Relations.

January 18, 1888.

My Dear Governor:—I recall a remark made by you to me at Toledo that it was your desire to be a member of the Republican National Convention and the head of a united delegation from Ohio, so as to enable you to secure my nomination by that convention. I think the

time has arrived when I ought to express to you not only my profound thanks for your kindly preference, but my hearty acceptance of your offer. You have now been inaugurated for the second time as Governor of Ohio, and can look forward with as much confidence to the future as any man in public life. I sincerely wish to support you in your laudable ambition and in the future as in the past hope to render you assistance and frankly accept your co-operation.

I would like you to head the delegation in the convention if you are of the opinion that it ought heartily and unitedly to give me support—leaving to the body of the convention to determine the choice among other candidates in case some one else is more likely to secure the success of the Republican Party.

I have committed myself to no one else as a delegate to the convention, but will hold this in reserve to consult with you freely and frankly as to details and methods. I feel no such eager desire for the nomination as would induce me to do a single act that the most fastidious would not consider proper. I will not try to control delegates by money or other improper influences—and wish to be in a condition if the decision is adverse to heartily support the nominee. I would not say this much to you, but that from many quarters offers of assistance and support have been extended that ought to be recognized and utilized if I am to be a candidate. I hope you will consider this matter in confidence, and as soon as practicable frankly state to me the position you wish to occupy and what course you advise.

With sincere respect, I am Truly yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

GOV. J. B. FORAKER.

I answered as follows:

January 16, 1888.

Dear Senator:—Answering your letter of the 13th inst., just received, I want to correct your statement as to my remark at Toledo, not that it is important, but only that even little things may be kept straight. What I said had relation to what had been my wish before the difference arose about the resolution of indorsement, and I was referring to it to show that my dissent in that matter was not founded on opposition to you, as some people had been unkind enough to charge. In other words, I was not even thinking of such a thing as asking you to confide your interests to me. I would not do that under any circumstances.

With that out of the way, I want next to say I am glad to receive your letter, and shall be pleased to aid you in any way I can. I desire to do this not alone for your good, but also, and even more, for the party's, and answering your suggestion as to the position I should occupy, I wish to assure you that it is, so far as I am concerned, entirely immaterial. No matter whether I am at the head or at the foot or in the middle of the delegation; and no matter, either, whether I go to the convention at all, I shall aid you all the same. I have said to all alike, at all times and under all circumstances, that if you can

be nominated by having Ohio solidly for you, you should have Ohio, and that if you can not be nominated with such support from your own State, then no one who has a preference for some one else has sacrificed anything by being for you, and that consequently you should have, as you are entitled to have it, the support of your own State in any event.

I think this idea prevails now very generally, and that consequently the sentiment of Ohio Republicans is more favorable to you than ever heretofore, and that no matter who may be selected by the District and State Conventions, the delegation will be at least substantially a unit in your support. I am sure this will be true if nothing is done to stir up strife and contention. Certainly it will be true of Southern Ohio. You doubtless know more of Northern Ohio than I do. I am also of the opinion that, no matter who may be selected as delegates-at-large, they will all support you—at least all will whom I have so far heard discussed as probable delegates.

I think the wisest course for you to pursue is to avoid contests or appearing to control. I would simply discreetly keep in line, so to speak, as we go along. It is about time, however, to determine when and where and how the conventions should be held. Please let me know when and where you would like the State Convention held, and I will ask the committee to comply with your wish in that respect. As to the District Conventions, I do not know who should manage them, but I presume the State Committee will look after them in due time. If there is anything you desire me to do in regard to any of these matters, please let me know. Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.

Hon. John Sherman,
Washington, D. C.

Senator Sherman replied as follows:

Senate Chamber.
Washington, D. C.

January 20, 1888.

My Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 16th is received and is entirely satisfactory.

As Governor of Ohio, I would naturally expect you to head the delegation, and, whenever the proper time comes, will express that desire to members of the convention. No doubt the selection of the delegates-at-large will be yielded to me. You will doubtless appreciate the propriety of my not taking any active part in movements preliminary to the nomination. All sorts of plans are announced to me to promote it, but thus far I have declined to adopt any measures of organization, but have preferred to leave the choice to the development of public opinion. Our chances are not so hopeful that we can afford to weaken them by contests between political friends. The course you suggest is eminently wise, to avoid contests and all appearance of control. I have not thought as to the time when the State Convention should be held, and am perfectly willing to leave it to the judgment of

the State Central Committee. Indeed, that committee ought to have a meeting and determine all questions as to the time, place and manner of holding district conventions and the State Convention according to their best judgment.

Very truly yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

HON. J. B. FORAKER.

Again, on March 8, Senator Sherman wrote as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

March 8, 1888.

My Dear Sir:—I do not wish to add to the burdens and duties of your office and position, but I feel quite sure that you will appreciate the motives which induce me to call your attention to the differences that have arisen about the mode of calling District Conventions to elect delegates to the Chicago Convention. I have carefully abstained from any interference in these controversies and have no wish to dictate delegates, as, so far as I am personally concerned, all seem to be friendly to a united delegation for me, but I fear that the uncertainty as to who should call the conventions will make double delegations from Ohio districts and invite a controversy in the convention that would be exceedingly unfortunate all around. This would appear to be the case, especially in the Columbus district and Xenia district, and perhaps others. Can you not in some way, being on the ground, intervene so as to reconcile these differences and have but one District Convention in each district and no more, so that, whoever are designated as delegates will be recognized? It would seem that the regular way, wherever there is a congressional committee in a district, would be to allow the call to emanate from that committee, but I am indifferent as to the method of the call and to the person selected, provided that it will not lead to a dispute as to who is elected. I feel that in the pending contest, whatever may be the result, it is of the highest importance to each of us that there should be no contest or feeling between our respective friends. Our interests are in common, and, so far as I am concerned, nothing can disturb my confidence, but we must each look out that contests do not occur between our friends.

Everything is moving along quietly without activity or bitterness, and I sincerely hope in a spirit that will lead to a hearty union of all Republicans upon a ticket that will win.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

GOVERNOR J. B. FORAKER.

I replied as follows:

March 10, 1888.

My Dear Senator:—I have your letter of the 8th inst. I thought it unfortunate at the time that our State Central Committee should have been induced to decline, when it held its meeting, to declare how the

conventions should be called. I feared it would lead to the uncertainty to which your letter refers. I think, however, there will be but little trouble arising on that account. So far as I can learn, the committees in nearly all the districts will act in harmony, agreeing upon time, place, etc. So far as this district is concerned, there will not be any trouble whatever. There are a few men in it who, like Capt. Greiner, of Perry, having aided the Democrats during the last campaign, are trying now to do the same by insisting there is trouble between you and me, and that it is to manifest itself in some practical form, but they are so few in number that they could not elect anybody to anything if they were to call a dozen conventions.

So far as the delegates in this district are concerned, as in all others, I have felt just as I said to you when you were here, that it was a matter of no concern, so far as practical results were to be considered, whether one or another should go, and therefore I have had nothing to do with the making of any one a candidate or keeping any one from being a candidate, either here or in any of the districts.

So far as my friends and your friends (if there is a distinction) may be concerned, I do not think any line can be drawn, for I know that among my warmest and best friends are many of yours also, and that they will support you as long as you have a chance. There are some men, assuming and loudly claiming to be your friends, who, I fear, are not mine, and with whom I can not very well do business. They are but few, however, and you will have a united delegation from Ohio, not because of, but in spite of, them; but if anything deprives you of a single delegate, it will be their officious machination and impertinent insinuations.

I write this in view of such things as that which I understand happened here a few days ago in connection with an effort to defeat the candidacy of Mr. Bliss. I did not know Mr. Bliss had a thought of going to the National Convention until after he had become a candidate, and then I learned it only as all such matters come to be known. He was not in any sense whatever a candidate of my choosing. But I recognized from the start that he not only had as good a right to be a candidate as anybody else, but a great deal better right than anybody I know of who was finding fault with his candidacy. He has been active here for a number of years in politics, and is now, and for some time has been, the chairman of the County Executive Committee. It never occurred to me, however, that anybody would claim that he represented me or was in any sense whatever a friend of mine, except as any good Republican might represent me and be said to be my friend, until on my return from Cincinnati last Tuesday I heard that some gentlemen who were unfriendly to him had started out to raise opposition to him, and that they had been telling it around Columbus that Bliss was running in hostility to you, and that they had been telegraphing to that effect to Washington. Nothing more absurd and without foundation could have been imagined. I paid no attention to it, knowing that it would break down of its own weight, as it has done. I did not meet Mr. Bliss until yesterday, and then I asked him about his candidacy and what his preferences were, when he told me what

I already knew from simply that common knowledge we all have, that he would support you as long as you or your most ardent friends could expect him to, and be as happy as anybody else if you should be nominated. It is simply an illustration of what I have before said, that whoever goes will be for you, and you can best serve your own interests by allowing all such matters to take their course.

There are people who can not understand how anything can ever "do itself" in politics. They think everything must come by scheming and machination, and are never happy unless they have an enemy whom they look upon as engaged in counter-scheming and whom they think they are by like means circumventing. When they have no enemy, their imagination supplies him. Such people are always more dangerous than real enemies.

I do not know about the Xenia district. I learn, however, that the State Central Committeemen, acting with the Congressional Committee, issued the call and that no one objected to the procedure until after the selection of delegates for Greene County had been made, when some of the defeated candidates made objection. I did not know there was any trouble about double conventions until your letter came. I do not think you need be uneasy, but I will ascertain what the trouble may be and write again, if necessary.

I learn today that there is a conflict in the Ross-Highland district. But Senator Massie said he would go to Chillicothe today and try to harmonize. He thinks he and Mr. Boggs can do so.

My opinion is that in so far as these troubles arise, they are due to the ambitions of men who wish to go as delegates and without regard to you, except as they may wish to impress you with the idea that they are doing something for which they should be remembered. Do not allow yourself to be imposed upon. Such men can rarely go unaided as delegates, and they try to link themselves with your cause to command support they can not otherwise have.

I presume Gov. Foster has advised you that your idea as to who should place your name before the convention is entirely satisfactory to me. Please remember, as I said to him, not to hesitate to make known to me any wish you may have. Very truly yours,

J. B. Foraker.

Hon. John Sherman,
Washington, D. C.

Scores of other letters of the same general character might be quoted without throwing any important additional light on what was transpiring. The letters quoted are precisely similar in spirit, tone and purpose with those which, for greater brevity, are omitted.

Suffice it to say anyone reading this correspondence will see that there was not at any time anything done by me "privately" in connection with the selection of delegates to represent Ohio in the National Convention.

It will further appear that, on the contrary, the fact is just the opposite. From the beginning to the end not only did Mr. Sherman and Mr. Hanna, who was his chosen manager, have full information as to all I was doing, but also full information as to all I was thinking of in connection with the cause I had espoused and was trying to support in good faith.

It will be further seen by anyone who reads this correspondence that while I was thus open and frank there was much going on among some of the friends of Mr. Sherman of which I was not advised.

I did not complain of it then, and do not complain of it now, because I thought at the time, under all the circumstances, it was natural and I have that same feeling now, to withhold from me evidences of their apprehension that I might be persuaded by friends, or by circumstances and developments, to become a candidate myself.

Anyone who lived through that period, and was familiar with the sentiment of the Republicans in Ohio, does not need to be told that in view of the three campaigns I had made for Governor, two of which were successful, and in all of which I had acquitted myself to the satisfaction of the party generally, I was preferred by many Republicans to Mr. Sherman, Mr. Blaine or anybody else, and that I only could keep this sentiment from crystallizing into active support of me for the nomination.

Every day there was something in the newspapers that bore testimony to this fact.

Had it not been for the indorsement by the Toledo convention I might have yielded to what so many friends desired, but I considered that indorsement as a part of the platform on which I was elected, and that so long as Mr. Sherman was a candidate it was my duty to support him in preference to everybody else, myself included.

The State Convention of 1888.

The State Convention was held at Dayton on the 18th day of April. It was largely attended. Major McKinley,

Governor Foster, General Bushnell and Major Butterworth, together with General Keifer, General Grosvenor, and all the other leaders of the party were present.

General Keifer, as temporary chairman, in the opening key-note speech of the occasion made an unusually strong and eloquent presentation of the claims of Mr. Sherman for Ohio's support. All others who addressed the convention spoke in the same strain. It was, therefore, a harmonious convention throughout, so far as the question of supporting Mr. Sherman was concerned.

When the selection of delegates was reached I was unanimously chosen by acclamation to head the Ohio delegation. Then Major McKinley, Major Butterworth and Governor Foster were chosen by ballot. It happened, however, that the different delegations had so divided their votes that Governor Bushnell, as well as the three other candidates, received a majority vote. This made it necessary to have another ballot as between him and Major Butterworth, who had the next highest vote. General Bushnell, seeing this situation, saved the time of the convention and made a most favorable impression upon all the delegates by protesting against another ballot and good-naturedly withdrawing in favor of Major Butterworth and moving that the nomination of the other three candidates be made unanimous. His action was so well received that there was a general outcry from the delegates, "We will make you Governor next year." This spontaneous nomination at once placed him in the front rank of those who were considered as candidates for 1889.

Senator Hanna seemed to prefer Bushnell to Butterworth. At any rate he wrote me May 2nd, 1888, as follows:

. . . Do get old Hartshorn fixed—if you love me. I was sorry not to have seen you again at Dayton. I know our friend Bushnell felt hurt at his treatment by the Cuyahoga delegation. I was simply surprised and disgusted. It was not my delegation, and I think I know who was at the bottom of it, as I had assurances that after McK. and Foster that Bushnell would get a large majority of the delegation. But the spirit Bushnell showed gave him more friends and honor than going to the Chicago Convention.

In the course of a speech I made to the convention, which was as strong for Sherman as I could make it, I chanced to say that he would not only have a "united delegation" to start with, but that they would stand by him "as long as he had a button on his coat." My remarks as a whole were commended by the entire Republican press of the State in terms of most extravagant praise, but this one homely expression attracted particular attention and was the subject afterward of many newspaper notices,—especially after Mr. Sherman had been defeated, when multitudinous descriptive accounts, most of them humorous, were published of how the buttons on his coat had one after another disappeared.

The following letter from Mr. Sherman shows with what satisfaction he read of our proceedings:

SENATE CHAMBER,
Washington, D. C.

April 20, 1888.

My Dear Sir:—I have just read in the Cincinnati *Commercial* of yesterday the proceedings in Dayton of Wednesday, including your admirable speech. I wish now to say that I heartily reciprocate every word uttered by you, and to assure you, now that the convention is over, that you were entirely justified in saying that I took no part in the selection of delegates, though often appealed to by telegrams and letters to do so. Since our recent correspondence I have felt that it was better for me to decline even to express an opinion for or against any delegate to be named, and to rely implicitly upon the good will of the people of Ohio and, as I knew I could, your friendship and honor. I felt anxious that you and Foster should be named as delegates-at-large, on account of our previous conversations, and to this extent and no more I was committed. I only regret that Bushnell also could not be selected, but as between him, Butterworth and McKinley, it was impossible and improper for me to choose.

And now that Ohio has so clearly expressed its choice, I feel less solicitude for success in the National Convention. I know that the contest is to be a desperate one, in which every effort and resource must be expended, with a doubtful result, and if any one could be nominated more likely to be elected than I, I will cheerfully give way, but, having entered into the contest, I will not shirk the responsibility, nor shrink from the long agony of a struggle with all the desperate and bad agencies and falsehoods of the Democratic Party.

Now that you are the chosen leader of my friends I intend to lean upon you for advice as well as assistance, and, even more than before, to confide in you.

Very sincerely yours,
JOHN SHERMAN.

HON. J. B. FORAKER.

To this letter I made the following answer:

April 24, 1888.

My Dear Senator:—I have your letter of the 20th inst. I am glad to know that you are pleased with the proceedings at Dayton. I assure you that you should be. They were all you could wish, not only in form but in spirit. I note, too, with much pleasure what you say about my remarks. I may have tramped on a few toes in saying you had no candidates before that convention, but I was determined that you should not be humiliated as you were when Keifer and Lawrence were defeated, and if my remarks had no other good result, they at least saved you from all danger of such a mortification.

But, however that may be, I thought it my duty to speak both for you and for me, and I am sure it had a good effect for both of us. I do not know what further we can do in Ohio, but if there should be anything more that you think I can do, do not hesitate to call upon me.

So far as the situation outside of Ohio is concerned, I do not know anything about it except as I learn from newspapers and general sources of information. I do not know where I could help you along any outside of the State, but if there should be any such place, I will do whatever I can. I wanted you to have Ohio solid, and that you will have. Should there be anything in connection with the arrangements at Chicago about which you may wish to confer with me, you will please do that also. I hope your friends are successfully looking after support from the Southern States. And what about New York and New England?

Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.

Hon. John Sherman,
Washington, D. C.

While what I said in this letter as to the spirit of the proceedings of the convention was true yet there was enough opposition in many of the Congressional districts to reject candidates who were so "offensively Sherman," to use a phrase coined at the time, as to arouse the Blaine men to the point of asserting their right to be represented by men of their own choice. It was this feeling that defeated Keifer and Lawrence in the Eighth District and General Grosvenor in his district, and defeated a number of others, and, as in the Toledo district, defeated a resolution to instruct for Sherman.

Letters of the same general character continued to pass between us. May 18th he wrote me that on the following day he was to have a conference with Mr. Hanna and Governor Foster and others, who were to meet with him

at Washington for the purpose of arranging all details with respect to the management of his campaign in Chicago, adding, "I will either write you the results or communicate with you through Hanna or Foster."

May 21st he wrote me that he had had the conference with Foster, Hanna, McKinley and Butterworth, adding, "a great many things were said and information communicated from different parts of the country, which it is well for me not to attempt to repeat, but which it was understood should be communicated to you by either Hanna or Foster at an early day, together with what was thought to be best as to the organization of the Ohio delegation and its convenient housing in Chicago, about which you will be consulted by one or other of the gentlemen named."

May 25th he wrote, denying a story that had been published in some newspaper to the effect that he had asked Mr. Butterworth to place his name in nomination, and added that he had no thought of changing the arrangement already tentatively made that someone outside of the State should nominate him, and that I, representing the State, should second his nomination, with which I had expressed my entire satisfaction in a letter written him on the 10th of March.

May 30th he wrote me, "the matter of the announcement of my name at the Chicago convention is now practically settled. Mr. Quay suggested Mr. Hastings of Pennsylvania, who, I believe, is Auditor General, a lawyer of distinction and among the leading men of that State. He was authorized to invite Mr. Hastings here and Quay thinks that Hastings will at once accept. If so, we will consider it settled that he is to make the nomination and that you will second it."

June 2nd he further wrote me:

My Dear Governor:—I had today a full conference with Senator Quay and Gen. Hastings of Pennsylvania. It is arranged that he make the nominating speech and that you second it. The delegation from that State will be practically solid.

I answered:

I have met Gen. Hastings and have some acquaintence with him. He is not Auditor General, but Adjutant General of Pennsylvania. I never heard him speak, but have no doubt, in view of what Senator Quay says, that he will prove an excellent man to nominate you.

I added:

I have not yet seen Hanna or Foster, but will no doubt see one or the other this week.

But I did not have the pleasure of seeing either of them until we reached Chicago, although in the meanwhile I had written Mr. Hanna as follows:

COLUMBUS, May 25, 1888.

My Dear Hanna:—I received a letter from Senator Sherman early in the week, from which I quote as follows:

"We had a long conference. . . . . A great many things were said and information communicated from different parts of the country which it is well for me not to attempt to repeat, but which it was understood was to be communicated to you by either Foster or Hanna at an early day, together with what was thought to be best as to the organization of the Ohio delegation," etc.

About the same time I received a letter from Gov. Foster, from which I quote as follows:

"Mr. Hanna has agreed to see you this week, and to have a full talk with you as to what is going on and what is expected of you generally. . . . As Mr. Hanna will see you so soon, etc., no further communication from me is needed at this time."

I received a letter this morning from Major Butterworth, from which I quote as follows:

"We met Saturday. Nothing of consequence was done. Matters are under advisement. I will write you as soon as anything worth your hearing transpires."

With these letters before me, I was surprised to receive your letter in which you do not speak of any arrangement having been made according to which you are to see me, or of any information which you were charged with the duty of imparting to me, or of any plan in accordance with which we are to work, or of any organization of the delegation that had been determined upon, or suggested, but which is chiefly an assignment of reasons why I should surrender the rooms in the vicinity of our headquarters that I have had engaged for more than three

months, to you and McKinley and Foster and Butterworth, and take others higher up.

These letters appear to me "out of joint" with one another, and, coupled with what is reaching me from various quarters, satisfy me that the so-called "fool friends" are not killed off yet, as I supposed, and induce me to say that I prefer to retain my rooms.

Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.

Hon. M. A. Hanna,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Croly in his "Life of Senator Hanna," with evident purpose to show that prior to the assembling of the National Convention I was in a treasonable frame of mind says, with respect to the matter of the assignment of rooms, "As Quarter-Master of the delegation Mr. Hanna had engaged accommodations at the Grand Pacific. The rooms selected for the Governor (myself) were on the floor above the Ohio headquarters instead of adjoining them, whereupon he wrote to Mr. Hanna and protested bitterly and indignantly." It will appear to anyone who compares this language of Mr. Croly with what I said in my letter, which is the only reference I ever made to the subject, that Mr. Croly was, to say the least, capable of gross exaggeration.

It is true, however, that I was—as the closing paragraph of my letter indicated—somewhat piqued, and certainly, all things considered, I had a right to be.

Mr. Hanna had time to write me a number of other letters after he received this about the rooms for the delegation and for myself at Chicago; that he had been "appointed Quarter-Master for the delegation," and "was to look after everything of that nature;" that Mr. Sherman's chances were "daily growing better;" that "encouraging reports were still coming in;" and that "he had no doubt but what Sherman would be nominated," because of "strength he would get that nobody else knew about;" "that information from the West is favorable, and if everything works as it looks now we are all right;" that "the Gresham boom is weakening as it gets no support in the East, owing to G. being a protege of that free trade Chicago *Tribune;*" and so forth and so on. I was less optimistic and so in-

formed him. But he never saw fit to make any answer whatever, in explanation or otherwise, of the inconsistent character of the different letters from which I have quoted. Neither he nor any other of those who had been in conference with Mr. Sherman wrote me or saw me in regard to any of the details with respect to the organization of our delegation, who should be selected to represent us on the different committees; who should be chosen for National Committeeman; or as to what should be the details of the management of our cause, all of which things I knew from Mr. Sherman's letter of May 21st had been agreed upon. Necessarily, therefore, I arrived at Chicago ignorant of many matters about which I naturally felt I should have been advised, and feeling at a corresponding disadvantage, on account of such lack of information; but in spite of all that, without any abatement whatever of my purpose and disposition to earnestly and efficiently, to the best of my ability, do all in my power to secure Mr. Sherman's nomination.

Of course I did not like such treatment, but I had as compensation the knowledge that if about any of the matters mentioned anything should be proposed that I did not like, I was at liberty to oppose it.

CHAPTER XXII.

1888

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THOUSANDS of Republicans in every State of the Union, and especially in Ohio, looked forward to 1888 as an opportunity to vindicate Mr. Blaine by making him again the candidate and then electing him President. The controversy in Ohio over the indorsement of Mr. Sherman in 1887, although the indorsement was finally given unanimously and enthusiastically, so far as the Convention was concerned, disappointed and chilled the ardor of some of Ohio's Blaine followers. At the same time my early opposition to indorsement, although from the beginning I announced willingness to assent, as I did, if Mr. Sherman insisted, lost me the hearty support, if not the support altogether, of some of Mr. Sherman's friends. I found evidences of this almost every place I visited during the campaign. The result was shown at the election by the fact that while I was re-elected after a most spirited and successful canvass by a larger plurality than I received in 1885, yet my total vote was approximately 3,000 less than my vote in 1885.

Had Mr. Blaine been in good health and been a candidate he would have been nominated at Chicago on the first ballot, and perhaps unanimously, notwithstanding all the sentiment there was for Mr. Sherman and the other candidates presented to that Convention. But in February, 1888, Mr. Blaine, then in Paris, wrote a letter to Hon. B. F. Jones of Pittsburg, Chairman of the National Executive Committee, and one of his personal, as well as political friends, telling him for publication that he would not be a candidate for renomination.

This threw the Blaine forces everywhere into confusion and in a general way helped us greatly in Ohio to secure

for Mr. Sherman a delegation pledged to his support. Yet in another respect it made more trouble than it cured.

Many of the Blaine men felt that he had declined to be a candidate for renomination because of the active candidacy of Mr. Sherman and others; his feeling being that, under all the circumstances, the nomination was due him, and if his party saw fit to give it to him at all, it should give it to him without a contest. Therefore, instead of accepting Mr. Blaine's letter as final and making a choice as to which of the other candidates they would support, they continued to cherish the hope that Mr. Blaine's strength might be such that, notwithstanding his letter, the Convention would tender him the nomination, in which event he would accept it. Others, however, taking him at his word and eliminating him from the contest and not feeling satisfied to support any of the avowed candidates, cast about to find some new man whom they could support.

In this way it came to pass that some weeks before the Convention assembled Major McKinley came into prominence as an available alternative. As early as June 2nd General Grosvenor wrote me from Washington telling me that Sherman would surely have 312 votes on the first ballot, but that

> advances and suggestions are coming from many directions toward McKinley. The Blaine New England papers are breaking, in what looks as though it might become a boom at the end of another week, and this is construed by us here to be an attempt to break the Sherman column in that direction. McKinley denounces it in every way. I do not fear it, and only speak of it as indicative of the desperate condition these (Blaine) people are in.

The Blaine "people" referred to had been mentioned by him in a previous paragraph as Charles A. Boutelle of Maine; William Walter Phelps of New Jersey; Whitelaw Reid of New York, and the Philadelphia *Press*. Of these he said they

> are hurriedly striving to form combinations that will place them and their fellows in supporting relations to the coming administration, whoever it may be.

There was a daily growth of this kind of talk in the newspapers, so that when I arrived in Chicago Saturday, June 16th, I not only found the hotels rapidly filling up with delegates, alternates, and Republican leaders from all the different States, but I also found many of them much at sea as to what should be done. On every hand men were talking for Blaine and urging that he was the choice of the Republican Party and that the nomination was due him and that he could be more surely elected than anybody else; and if not Blaine, some new man, and in this connection there was much favorable talk of McKinley.

In my first conference with Mr. Hanna I found that he was fully alive to this actual situation and that he felt that success for Mr. Sherman could be achieved, if at all, only by the most earnest efforts. Major Butterworth, Governor Foster and Major McKinley all shared this same view. Naturally, under the circumstances, Major McKinley had very little to say, but Butterworth and Foster talked to this effect very freely. Many reports came to me as to what they and other Ohio men were saying to the delegates from other States as to the purposes and hopes of the Ohio delegation. Some of these were, no doubt, untruthful, and many of them, perhaps most of them, more or less exaggerated; but according to many such reports they did not hesitate while saying that Ohio would present a solid front for Mr. Sherman, and that the delegates from Ohio hoped to secure his nomination, to add also that if they could not secure the nomination of Mr. Sherman the delegation and the Republicans of Ohio would prefer Major McKinley to anybody else.

These reports came to McKinley as well as to me, and as often as two or three different times he spoke of them in a way that indicated that they were rather pleasing yet extremely embarrassing. I am sure he never at any time encouraged them; but, on the contrary, he did all he could do with propriety to suppress them on the ground that, having gone there as a delegate pledged to the support of Mr. Sherman, he would not be at liberty to accept the nomination even

if it should be tendered to him. Mr. Hanna was, no doubt, as fully informed about all this as I was, for he saw more of McKinley than I did—they occupied adjoining and connecting rooms.

This kind of talk constantly grew in volume until the Convention assembled and several ballots had been taken. On the fourth ballot Connecticut was called and one of her delegates voted for McKinley. He took occasion to address the Convention and appealed to those voting for him to desist therefrom on the ground that he was pledged to support Mr. Sherman and that he could not consistently accept their support.

No one criticised him because of the outspoken preferences of his friends for his nomination that were heard every day and every hour from the time we arrived in Chicago until he thus put an end to whatever chances he may have had.

On the contrary, all his friends seemed to rejoice in the fact that he was so mentioned and to take pains to give voice and volume to it whenever and wherever they could. This was especially true of some of his friends among the delegates and alternates and many friends who were not members of the Convention. I myself took no exception. I thought all that was said and done in his behalf in the way mentioned was natural and legitimate and that no one had a right to complain of him because of what his friends were doing in that respect, so long as he had no responsibility for it.

At the same time I recognized, as he did, that he was in an embarrassing situation and that the course pursued by him was the proper one for him to take unless and until Mr. Sherman, the only one who could do so, should see fit to release him from the obligation he was under.

Other men not candidates were also mentioned, myself among them. I had friends among the delegates and among the alternates who preferred my nomination over that of anybody else, and there were many Republicans present from Ohio and other States who felt the same way. My

rooms at the hotel were constantly thronged by these would-be supporters. All this was the subject of ugly comment by the very men who were doing the same thing for McKinley.

It was advertised that on Tuesday evening, the evening of the first day of the Convention, there would be a grand parade of all the Republican clubs that might be in attendance. To induce clubs to come excursion rates were given on the railroads. There happened to be at that time a large Foraker Club in Columbus. They were active, vigorous young men who had supported me through two successful campaigns as Governor, who were anxious because of the pride they had in their organization and the respect and regard they had for me to participate in this parade. Accordingly, without consulting me and without any notice to me whatever, they arrived Tuesday in Chicago, some five or six hundred strong. They were neatly uniformed. They carried beautiful banners, among them a Sherman banner to show that, notwithstanding their name, they were there to support, in so far as their presence might amount to support, the same candidate I was supporting. They made as fine an appearance as any club that participated in the parade. Accordingly they attracted great attention and were much talked about, but while most of this talk was friendly, yet much of it was exceedingly unfriendly. Republicans of Ohio who desired the nomination of Sherman or McKinley looked upon it as an active movement in my behalf and charged me with responsibility for it. They went further and criticised, as an evidence of intended treachery to Sherman on my part, every demonstration of friendship for me that was made either in the hotel lobbies, on the streets or in the Convention. They said many harsh and aggravating things for which there was no excuse whatever so far as I was concerned. Such talk was especially unjust and annoying because every man there knew, or ought to have known, that without what I had done in that behalf a solid and instructed delegation for Sherman from Ohio would have been impossible.

This had been going on long enough and had become sufficiently offensive and annoying to cause me to feel that, when the Ohio delegation met for the purpose of organization, it was at least desirable, if not necessary as a repressive factor, to have a test vote on something or somebody that would show how the delegation stood with respect to Mr. Hanna and myself. I concluded this could be most naturally and effectively had upon some part of the program which Mr. Hanna and those who had been in conference with him had prepared with respect to the organization and honors of the delegation. Looking over his list I discovered that he had selected for National Committeeman the Honorable Amos Townsend, of Cleveland, who had served several times in Congress but was not then in public life. I recalled that Mr. Townsend was, according to the newspapers, one of the gentlemen who participated in the famous Canton conference prior to the State convention of 1887, and who in Democratic reports, was quoted as saying that he doubted if "a weak, dizzy-headed man like Foraker" could be elected over Mr. Powell, who was then a prominent candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor, and that I would, according to this statement, be beaten by at least 50,000 if Senator Thurman instead of Mr. Powell should be made the Democratic candidate. I was personally acquainted with Mr. Townsend and supposed I was on good relations with him politically and otherwise; but, although his statement was published over and over again, he never took the trouble to deny it or to make any reference to it whatever, either by letter to me or in any other way—public or private.

Col. A. L. Conger of Akron, a large manufacturer and a prominent Blaine man, was a delegate from his district and he was anxious to be a member of the National Committee. I concluded I would make the test that I thought it desirable to make as between these two men. Accordingly I notified Mr. Hanna that I could not support Mr. Townsend but would support Col. Conger. This led to a preliminary canvass of the delegation that showed 31 votes for Conger and only 15 for Townsend. In the presence of

these figures Mr. Hanna concluded not to allow a vote to be taken. The result was that Col. Conger was chosen without opposition. This displeased Mr. Hanna and caused him, according to reports made to me, to say some very unkind things, but he did not say any of them to me.

While this feeling was acute the Foraker Club started out Tuesday evening on a serenading expedition. They called on most of the prominent leaders of the party in attendance upon the Convention. Among others they called upon me, and called so urgently and repeatedly for me to say something that I finally addressed them as follows:

Gentlemen of the Foraker Club:—I sincerely thank you for the kind compliment you have paid me in making this unexpected call. I want to congratulate you, now that I have an opportunity of doing so, upon the magnificent appearance and demonstration which you have made since you came to Chicago. As you marched up the streets of this great city it was the comment on all sides that there was one of the most splendid organizations in the way of a political club that had yet come to town. (Applause.) I am glad to see you have been so generous in the bestowal of your compliments on the distinguished men of the nation who are here. I was glad you called upon our distinguished friend from New York, Mr. Depew, and the others whom you have been serenading, and I am glad to know that you appreciate the proprieties of this occasion as you have manifested that you do. (Applause.) I am glad to see that among your banners is one which proclaims your fidelity, in common with the rest of the Ohio Republicans who are here, to the most illustrious son of Ohio whom we are here for the purpose of nominating for the Presidency. (Great applause, and voice, "Three cheers for John Sherman!") Hold on; don't take that job away from me. Somebody has proposed three cheers for John Sherman. I want to propose them myself, and I want every member of the Foraker Club to give them in a way that will put to shame every cowardly, scurrilous scoundrel who has been indulging in malicious aspersions and villainous insinuations. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen of the Foraker Club, one and all with me, three cheers for John Sherman.

They were given with a rousing heartiness that bespoke genuine sincerity.

These remarks and the election of Col. Conger over Mr. Townsend were two incidents that intensified the hostility of my enemies, but they had the effect I thought they would have, of making them a great deal more respectful in what

they said. They stopped short their misrepresentation as to "how the Ohio delegation stood."

These same mischief makers were made still more hostile, without any fault of mine, by a demonstration by the Convention at the evening session of the second day.

The order of business was reached where a report from the Committee on Credentials was in order. The Chairman of that Committee answered, when the report was called for, that the Committee was not yet quite ready to make its report. A motion was made to adjourn, but failed to carry.

Then the Convention commenced to call for speeches from different delegates. A number were called upon, among them Governor Bradley of Kentucky, who was, as always, very eloquent. After he had concluded his remarks there were loud calls for me, to which I refused to respond until compelled to do so by a formal request of the Convention. The following is a report of this incident as published the next morning in the Chicago *Tribune*, and, so far as my remarks are concerned, in all the other papers. The descriptive account given by the Chicago *Tribune* was similar in character and strain to that given by all the others.

The *Tribune* said:

Then the Convention insisted on Foraker. He was not ready. It required no great penetration to know that at this period in the proceedings it is not diplomatic in Governor Foraker to address the Convention. He can not afford to alienate even the least significant faction in it. He can not afford to antagonize either the confident or the despondent. The elements of uncertainty in the status of candidates are so numerous, so perilous, that the slightest error of tactics might prove irreparable. He sat still, his keen face impassive, his arms folded on his breast. But the galleries would not be quieted, and the Committee on Credentials did not appear. The chairman was evidently not in sympathy with the call upon the impetuous young magistrate. He was engrossed with desk affairs while the clamor went on like a cyclone. When it reached high climaxes he pounded vigorously with his gavel, and the more opposition he showed the louder was the chorus. Finding the demand insatiable, he recognized Mr. Hallowell, of Kansas, who made a formal motion that Governor Foraker be invited to address the convention. Governor Foraker said:

"I could not be insensible to the compliment you have paid me if I would, and I would not be if I could. (Loud applause.) Hence it is that I sincerely thank you and assure you of my appreciation for

the honor which you have shown. At the same time I trust you will believe me when I say I would greatly have preferred that the honor had not been conferred upon me. I know not what I can say to you at this stage of our proceedings that will be of either interest or profit, unless it would be to take up and make further answer to the question put by the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky just before he took his seat; and that was as to what we are here for. (Loud laughter and applause.)

"We have come to formulate an expression of Republican principles and to nominate the next President of the United States. (Loud applause continued for many seconds.) That is what we are here for. The first of these duties it is not difficult to perform. There is not a member of this Convention who could not easily frame an acceptable platform. There is not an intelligent schoolboy in all the land who does not already know what our declarations will be. (Loud applause.) Every Democrat as well as every Republican knows what the attitude of the Republican Party is with respect to the questions that concern the American people today. It ever was so, and so it ever will be, for the simple reason that Republicanism is sincerity, and sincerity never equivocates. (Loud applause.)

"We believe, as Mr. Bradley has pertinently said, in a free ballot and a fair count. (Applause and cries of 'Good' and 'That's right!') And we shall not hesitate to say so with all the emphasis that we can thunder into the declaration. (Cheers and applause.) We believe in a protective tariff. (Great cheers and applause.) No objection to it because revenue may be incidental. (Laughter and applause.) And we shall not hesitate to say so as to that, either. We believe, too, as our eloquent friend said, that the present Democratic administration is but a sham and a false pretense. (Applause.) It is a great fraud, and already it has outlived its usefulness. (Applause and laughter.)

"We want a change, and are determined to have one. (Applause.) We believe that the free trade message and tendencies of Grover Cleveland are fraught with harm to the highest and best interests of our country, and we shall protest against them accordingly. (Loud applause.) We believe in taking care of Americans, of American home markets, American wages, American laborers, American interests (applause), American laborers of every description, from our fisheries on the eastern coast to the Chinese question on the West. (Applause.) And we are going to say so as to all these matters in our platform.

"And when we have finished that platform, we are going to nominate our candidate. I do not know, any more than the other distinguished gentleman (General Bradley) did, just who he will be."

A voice in the gallery shouted "Gresham," and other voices came in with the name of Harrison, Blaine, Sherman and Allison. Continuing, Governor Foraker said: "I think I know something about it. I will tell you some of his qualities."

At this point the names of the various candidates were repeated by parties in different parts of the house, and in response Governor Foraker said:

One at a time. (Laughter.) I can not give you his name, but I can tell you some of his qualities. In the first place he will be a

gentleman. (Tremendous cheering, with waving of hats and fans, many of the delegates standing on their chairs.) That is saying a great deal, isn't it? (Laughter.) In the light of experience, of course.

A voice: He won't go fishing on Decoration Day. (Laughter.)

Governor Foraker: He will be a man of good moral character, and he will have some social standing in the community (cheers and laughter); and, as some gentleman has indicated, he will be a loyal son of the republic. (Cheers.) I thought a few minutes ago, when this convention was applauding the son of our great heroic leader in the war of the rebellion (referring to the cheers which greeted Colonel Fred Grant and his wife as they entered the Convention), how badly I would feel if I belonged to a party to whom he would not be welcome as he was as he walked down yonder aisle. (Applause.)

Yes, the man we nominate will be a man who will cherish the patriotic recollections of the past. The names of Grant and Sherman and Sheridan (cheers) will be dear to our candidate. (Applause.) I might go on and indicate to you many other qualities that he will possess. I might point out to you the character of a man he will be in other respects, touching him as an individual, touching him as to record, and all those matters, but let me simply say, and with that quit the platform, that he will not only be a man who will cherish patriotic recollections, but he will have a record as a Republican that will be without spot or blemish. (Cheers.) He will be a man who will take our standard in his hands and carry it to victory in the name of Republicanism (cheers) without extenuation or apology to anybody, and when he has once been elected, it will be his first and highest business to give us a Republican administration. (Applause.) He will not do it by any false pretense. He will not do it by any kind of indirectness, but he will go straight ever at the mark. He will do it in the name of Republicanism and because he will have the good sense to know and the courage to proclaim and act upon the principle that he serves the republic best who best serves the Republican Party. (Applause.) That is the kind of a man I came here to try to nominate. (Applause.) If we get that kind of a man nominated, we can catch up that glorious refrain that comes to us from Oregon and sweep the whole country with a magnificent triumph that will knock Grover Cleveland and the red bandana into "innocuous desuetude." (Applause.)

The comments upon this speech and upon myself in connection with it were all favorable, even those appearing in the Democratic newspapers. The following, quoting further from the Chicago *Tribune*, is a fair sample of what appeared in all the newspapers the next morning:

The popular reception given the speaker was not less enthusiastic than that of the Convention itself. The cheers were the lustiest, the longest and the heartiest that had been heard in the Convention hall.

It was impossible for him to proceed for several minutes, and, when he was permitted to speak, he delivered a speech as curious for what he suggested, but left unsaid, as for what he said with a directness and hammer-like force that kept the cheers ringing incessantly.

He was compelled to speak extemporaneously to avoid making an impression that would savor of selfishness or of disloyalty to the candidate for whom his state is pledged. A more difficult task under all the circumstances a man could not confront. He showed at once that if Mr. Thurston was made the victim Tuesday of his subordination of idea to rhetoric, Foraker was perfectly able to subordinate language to idea, and so to adjust the idea as to arouse party passion to the highest pitch, while not offending against either faction, prudence or public taste. He said with characteristic bluntness that they had met to formulate a declaration of Republican principles and to nominate the next President of the United States.

"I do not know what his name is to be," he said, "but I do know what some of his qualities will be." After an instant's pause he added: "He will be first a gentleman." The hit was so sudden, its pungency so bitter, its direction so swift, that it dazed the galleries and hushed the floor, but that brief instant exploded in a long series of shouts, clapping of hands, waving of handkerchiefs and other miscellaneous expressions of ecstatic satisfaction. The 10,000 or 12,000—for every seat even to the skyline on all sides was filled—laughed, screamed, shouted, cheered and laughed again. The hit was palpable. "He will be a man of good moral character," and the laughter was silenced, but the cheers were more emphatic. "He will have some record as a patriot; he will have been a loyal citizen." Each shaft at the head of the Democratic Party was sent relentlessly on its errand, and the point hissed on the object it struck.

The effect of the speech was to make Governor Foraker the favorite of the Convention. It was manifest that he stood before it an ideal partisan, reckless of the censure of its enemies, proud of its achievements and indifferent to every effect except that upon party success. Oratory is not always a thing of splendor of imagery, of glowing periods, of magnificent sweeping of emotions. It is often the irresistible expression of an impassioned character, speaking in brief, terse, studiously bare and cautious words. Its fire may be in the eye, not in the phrase. Its power may be discerned in the man, reserved and held back by art more subtle than the art of copiousness. The personality of Governor Foraker is made up largely of the elements of oratory; and those who study him closely incline to the belief that a younger Blaine is in the Republican Party—a Blaine who is profiting by the experience of the elder in the science of leaving much unsaid and of saying clearly, boldly and brilliantly what it is courageous and sagacious to say.

In due time on Thursday, the third day of the Convention, the order of business was reached under which the roll of States was called for the presentation of candidates. When

Connecticut was called General Joseph R. Hawley was placed in nomination by a delegate from that State, but without any speech and without any second. When Illinois was reached General Walter Q. Gresham was placed in nomination by the Honorable Leonard Swett, who commenced by telling of the nomination of Abraham Lincoln by a Convention held in Chicago and attended by him twenty-eight years before. He then sketched the achievements of the Republican Party from that day until the Convention he was addressing, giving in connection therewith a long detailed biographical account of the political affiliations and military and other services of his candidate. This nomination was seconded by the Honorable Frank F. Davis of Minnesota, in which he told us that if challenged to match Abraham Lincoln he would do it with Walter Q. Gresham. Speaking of the demand for him he said:

> I hear it amid the murmur of the Northern pines. I hear it in the sighs of heaven that come from harvest-laden prairies waiting the garner's sickle to feed a hungry world, from lands that yearn for Statehood wrongfully denied. I hear it in the thunder of the cloud-capped peaks of Allegheny and Sierra, speaking in tongues of avalanche down mountain canyon. I hear it in the rush and whirl of the marts of commerce, and amid the crash of loom and wheel. It rides upon the wind that blows through the Golden Gate or fans the brow of Liberty upon Manhattan's bay—wherever toil from earth or air or sea brings to the human race its fruits of labor.

And so he went on to the end with one such sentence after another.

This nomination was further seconded by Hon. John R. Lynch, a delegate from the State of Mississippi, who had been Temporary Chairman of the Convention of 1884, and who was a very able representative of the negro race. He made a good speech, showing that his candidate was loyal to the principles of Republicanism in their application to his race, but it was too long. The Convention became somewhat impatient and interrupted him with calls of time.

A third seconding speech made by the Honorable Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts, followed that made by Mr.

Lynch. In simple, beautiful and strong sentences he championed the cause of his candidate, making a good impression as to himself, at least, on all that great audience. That was the first time I ever saw and heard Mr. McCall. The impressions of him then formed were strengthened into positive admiration and warm personal regard by my acquaintance with him in subsequent years while he was serving in the House of Representatives and I in the Senate.

Although most abundantly nominated by the principal and seconding speeches already made, still another delegate, Mr. John B. Rector of Texas, again seconded the nomination.

In all the political conventions it was my privilege to attend I never knew a candidate so voluminously presented to the Convention; or anything like so much time—nearly two hours—taken up with such a matter.

In all these speeches the speakers took pains to claim for General Gresham that he was a sound Republican—sound on the tariff and sound as to all other Republican principles and that it should not injure his cause that he was a favorite with the Mugwumps, who had defeated Blaine in 1884.

At the conclusion of Mr. Rector's speech the call of the States was continued. When Indiana was reached the Honorable and venerable Richard W. Thompson announced that the Honorable Albert G. Porter, ex-Governor of Indiana, would present the candidate of the Indiana delegation. Governor Porter, in a very able speech, nominated Benjamin Harrison. This nomination was seconded by E. H. Terrell of Texas, and Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire. This was the first time I saw and heard Senator Gallinger. His modest manner but strong and effective speech made him a favorite with all who heard him, whether in strict accord with him or not. I had afterward a delightful acquaintance with him when I served with him for twelve years in the Senate.

When Iowa was called Mr. Hepburn placed Senator Allison in nomination. His speech was worthy of the occasion and of the man whose cause he championed. His nomination was seconded by Mr. Bosworth of Rhode Island.

And then when Michigan was called came the nomination of Russell A. Alger. The principal speech was made by Hon. Robert G. Fraser. He was one of the readiest, most eloquent and most forcible of all the men who addressed the Convention. His speech made a most favorable impression and was punctuated from time to time by loud applause not only by the Convention but by the thousands who filled the galleries. This nomination was seconded by Charles J. Noyes of Massachusetts, in a speech that, taken with McCall's plea for Gresham, showed that where Mr. Sherman was supposed to be strongest outside of Ohio and Pennsylvania his antagonists were to have a strong and earnest support. Several other speeches were made seconding the nomination of General Alger.

When New York was called Senator Frank Hiscock placed Chauncey M. Depew in nomination. The quality of his speech was good but he did not arouse much enthusiasm. Mr. Hartley of Minnesota, in a few brief sentences, seconded Mr. Depew's nomination.

Next Ohio was called. In response General D. H. Hastings of Pennsylvania took the platform and in a well considered, very eloquent and very comprehensive speech, presented the name of John Sherman. I then seconded the nomination, speaking as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:—Ohio is sometimes like New York. She occasionally comes to a National Republican Convention divided as to her choice for the Presidency, and sometimes she comes united. She has so come on this occasion. (Loud applause.) Her forty-six delegates are here to speak as one man. (Applause.) And it is at their bidding, on their behalf and in their name that I take this platform to second the nomination that has been made. (Applause.) Not so, however, because John Sherman is a citizen of our State. Knowing him as we do, we should support him here with the same unanimity, the same zeal, and with the same determination and intensity of purpose, no matter from what section he might be. (Loud applause.) For we know and pledge for him that which you gentlemen of all the other States must recognize and concede—that he is not so much a citizen of any one State as a citizen, in the highest sense of the word, of all the States of all this Union. (Applause.) His name and fame fill the whole land and brighten every page of American history that has been written since he entered public life.

Nominate him, and you need not waste any time on biographical sketches. (Cries of "That's so.")

When you recall what has been said from this platform today you can appreciate the value of that advantage. (Laughter and applause.) He is the immediate friend and acquaintance of all classes and conditions of our people (applause), high and low, rich and poor, white and black, native and foreign. (Applause.) As it was written in our platform, as it was read from that desk today, all alike know and honor him, because all alike have a common part and a common claim in his illustrious achievements. (Applause.) But no more do they honor him for his distinguished services to his country than, as it was well said by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, because of the exalted character and purity of his private life. (Applause.) He is in the highest sense of the word a typical representative of American life, American citizenship and American statesmanship at the same time. (Cheers and applause.)

General Hastings well said that he would not repeat his record to you from this platform. If he were to detain you until he could do so, we would not get a standard bearer until the next term of the Presidency commenced. (Applause.) It covers all there is of Republicanism. (Applause.) It commences before the party commenced (applause), and it has gone continually on from that moment until this. There is not a question, and has not been in thirty years, affecting American people internally or externally that John Sherman has not dealt with. (Applause.) And how? In such a way as to command the unbounded confidence not only of the business interests, but of every other kind of interests in the United States. (Applause.) I have not heard of any breezes wafting sighs for his nomination, as was the case with another gentleman. (Laughter.) But I have heard, as you have heard, a Macedonian call coming up from every section of the United States. (Cheers.) But John Sherman is something more than a good citizen and a great statesman; something more in the sense that we want to have something more in the candidate whom we nominate today. I am becoming a little particular in this matter.

I want a Republican this time. (Applause and cries of "Good, good.") I want one of the kind of Republicans we had on this platform last night. (Applause and cries of "That's right.") I want a man who is not only a Republican from the top of his head to the soles of his feet, but who has been one all his life. I don't mean to insinuate anybody is not that. (Cries of "Oh, no, oh, no.") But I do want to impress upon you that John Sherman is all that. (Applause.) He has ever been ready—no matter how much personal disappointment might be involved—to support the platform and the nominee of the Convention. He never sulks, he never strays away with bad company. (Applause and laughter.) On the contrary, he is always in line and ready for duty. (Applause.) Yes, he is always on duty, and that, too, at the very forefront. (Applause.)

Where the fight is thickest there he always delights to be. And he is a leader of men—a natural-born leader. He belongs to a family of leaders. (Cheers, and some one in the audience called out, "Hurrah

for Sherman!" but Foraker deprecated any display, and proceeded.) He is a brother of that grand old hero and leader, so dear to the heart of every man who wore the blue, who once split the Jeff Davis wing of the Democratic Party wide open when he marched in triumph from Atlanta to the sea. (Great enthusiasm.) Put your banner into the hands of John Sherman, and let him do a similar job for you now. (Laughter and applause.) He will not only carry it to victory; he will give the country the benefit of that victory (applause)—not in any narrow or bigoted sense; not certainly by a resort to such pusillanimous methods as those known under the name and guise of "offensive partisanship" (laughter and applause); not either by a cowardly assassination of individual character (cries of "Good!" and applause), the method that seems so dear to our over-righteous Mugwump friends (laughter and applause), but he will do it in a manly and courageous way. He will administer our public affairs by Republican agencies, according to Republican principles. (Cries of "Good!" and applause.) He will fulfill the pledge with which we commenced our platform, namely, that the Constitution and the laws of this country shall be enforced everywhere throughout our boundaries. (Applause.)

A voice: Even in South Carolina?

Mr. Foraker: Yes, even in South Carolina. (Great applause.) What is the use of talking about reducing the surplus revenue unless you first settle it that when the people have reached conclusions they shall be allowed to express the conclusions they have reached? (Applause.)

Yes, John Sherman is a Republican who will see to it that American citizens are protected in the enjoyment and the exercise of their rights of citizenship wheresoever the flag may float. (Applause.) He will uphold and force the wise and patriotic policy of a protective tariff. (Cries of "Good, good" and cheers.) His aim and ambition, policy and affections, if you please, will be national. They take in South Carolina (applause), and we will make it a decent place even for Republicans to live—yes, under the benevolent guidance of his administration the whole South will be given an opportunity to develop her resources and build up her industrial pursuits, and, under such provisions as those proposed by the Blair bill, educate her children (cheers) until they have been brought abreast in the march of progress, in the development of wealth and power, with their sister States in the Union. (Cries of "Good, good.")

And then, when we are all abreast, there will be no rivalries such as have existed heretofore, but under the blessings of a common prosperity all this wicked spirit of sectionalism that the present administration has revived (cries of "Good, good") will be overthrown, and the South, bound to the North and every other section of the country in the bonds of prosperity, which are ever stronger than any that can be forged by constitutional provisions or legislative enactments, all will be started with us on that march to a destiny that is greater and grander than any language can describe. (Applause.) If, therefore, high personal character, long-tried and capable statesmanship, unfaltering and unswerving devotion to the principles of Republicanism, as you have announced them here, coupled with a guarantee of success at the polls in November, to be followed by such magnificent results as I have

indicated, are commendations to your favor, then nominate John Sherman, not of Ohio, but of the United States. (Great applause.)

As I made my way to the platform a huge floral piece was placed near where I was to stand while speaking, bearing the rebel flag message, "No rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor." I had no intimation that any such thing was contemplated until I saw it done. I was both surprised and annoyed by it, for I at once realized that, under the circumstances it was not only in bad taste, but that it was another incident that would be utilized to my disadvantage by my enemies and defamers. I impatiently ordered it removed and as soon as I had concluded my speeech instituted an inquiry to find out who was responsible. I supposed some over-zealous friends from Ohio had done it, and was much relieved when it was found that two ladies living in Chicago, whom I had never seen but once, were the "guilty parties." Governor Foster, who was one of the closest friends of Senator Hanna and in thorough sympathy with him in all he legitimately did in that contest, promptly and frankly vindicated me by giving to the press the following statement:

HOW IT HAPPENED.

GOV. FOSTER EXPLAINS ABOUT THOSE FORAKER FLOWERS AND THEIR SOURCE.

Special to the Evening Journal.

CHICAGO, June 22.—Some criticism having been made on Gov. Foraker because of the introduction in the convention of the beautiful floral piece which was exhibited yesterday, ex-Gov. Foster said: "I deem it proper to make the following explanation: About a year ago two ladies called upon me, highly accredited by citizens of Chicago, of excellent standing, in the interest of their brother, who had but a short time previous been sent to the Ohio penitentiary from the county in which I live. These ladies had not heard of their brother for many years, and supposed him dead. They made the statement that they were well to do; that the husband of one of them was engaged in a business in which he employed many people. They were disposed to give this brother employment and a home with them in case he was pardoned. I wrote Gov. Foraker, recommending a pardon, as did several other of our citizens. The Governor granted the pardon. To manifest their appreciation of this kindly act on the part of the Governor, these ladies, without his knowledge, secured the preparation of the floral piece exhibited in the Convention today at the time of Gov. Foraker's speech."

Mr. Kerr, in his very excellent "Life of Sherman," tells of this incident without the explanation given by Governor Foster. He also says of my speech seconding Mr. Sherman's nomination that it lacked "tact and diplomacy." In making this statement he was but repeating what a few of my active enemies said of it at the time. The overwhelming newspaper comment was entirely favorable, even more than favorable. In view of Mr. Kerr's comments I quote briefly from an almost unlimited supply:

The New York *Sun* said:

Foraker followed with a seconding speech. Need any more be said? Foraker is the pet and darling of this Convention. The appearance of his face, the mention of his name, the sound of his voice, electrify the delegates and the spectators. In Chicago today the word Foraker is synonymous with wild enthusiasm. As he strode upon the platform some burly men were seen bearing a great floral piece. It was several feet high and half a foot thick. It was as gorgeous as Solomon in his glory. Worked with red flowers upon a white background was this sentiment: "No rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor." These were the words of the famous dispatch the magnetic Republican sent at the time of the Cleveland battle-flag episode. One can imagine the excitement of the crowd when it is known that because the men in the gallery over the platform could not read the words on this floral piece, an uproar amounting to a small riot was developed. "Turn it around, turn it around," could be heard above the tornado of yelling. Nothing would satisfy the people until it was so turned, although the chairman pounded his gavel until splinters flew from it in the bushy locks of Fred Douglass and the well-barbered head of Jones, of the National Committee. Thus Foraker's boom was launched in the middle of the Sherman boom.

Foraker is a reckless talker—as pugnacious as a terrier and as quick as a flash.

Here is one sentence. Said he: "Nominate Sherman and you needn't waste any time on biographical sketches. From what has been said here today you can appreciate the full value of that advantage." Here is another: "I haven't heard of any sighs being wafted here for Sherman, as another gentleman did for his candidate." This was a reference to something said by Davis of Minnesota. "I want a Republican this time. I am getting particular. I want one who has been a Republican without interruption." This was how he put the knife into Depew. "I don't say that any one has not been one. I only want one of that kind." (Yells and tumultuous applause.)

Then he made some good points. This was one sentence: "Sherman is a leader; he is a natural-born leader. He belongs to a family of leaders." Here is another sentence that took the crowd: "The General broke the Jeff Davis wing of the Democracy wide open. Let his brother take command and he will do a similar job for you."

The truth is, Foraker is a transparently honest man. Whatever is in him, as has well been said, shines out through him and can not be hidden. If he loves or if he hates, you know it, and if he has a brief and human spasm of ambition or jealousy, it is apparent. These are things which people can forgive in a fighter of such quality as Ohio's Governor, in whose belt the scalp of Grover Cleveland, who has been heard of in connection with certain battle flags, dangles beside that of Hoadly and Powell.

So long as Foraker knocks out the enemies of the Republican Party with celerity and finality he will be a figure of great honor among us and impulsiveness will not be set down greatly to his discredit.

The Cleveland *Leader* said:

Governor Foraker arose to second the nomination. He was greeted with a tremendous ovation. Just before he began speaking a large floral tribute was brought down the central aisle to the stage. Across it in red flowers were wrought these words: "No rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor." When Foraker saw it he indignantly waved it away and began his speech. You can read it in another column, and you will see that he is in every sentence loyal to the Ohio candidate and that it is a complete and overwhelming repudiation of the despicable calumnies of which Governor Foraker has been made the victim. It was the finest speech of the day by all odds, and the Governor put so much energy into it that the applause was almost continuous while he talked, and when he had concluded half the delegates and every person in the audience were on their feet cheering with might and main. The applause continued for fully fifteen minutes, and the cheers were turned into a song, and the immense throng joined in that grand air so closely connected with the name of Sherman, "Marching Through Georgia."

The *Ohio State Journal* said:

The tribute of our Governor Foraker to John Sherman was so conspicuously grand, so clear, so comprehensive, so pertinent, so patriotic, so generous to the South, so suggestive, so inspiring, as to create in the convention a commotion and an uprising that swept over all bounds and made the place, the hour and the man historic. Gov. Foraker even captured his enemies and transformed them into hearty, eulogistic friends, if not partisans. We quote the following from a Chicago special:

"Major Bickham was sitting by your correspondent and said that he heard Bob Ingersoll at the Cincinnati Convention in 1876, Conkling and Garfield in 1880, and the great master efforts four years ago, but Foraker's effort had beaten them all. Those who read the Governor's speech will get no idea of it as a masterpiece. What he excelled all other speakers today in was the grace, force and pointedness of his delivery. He was at home on his feet in the presence of the multitude and charmed them with the magnetism of his faultless intonation, ring-

ing voice and musical climaxes. He spoke without notes and with all the power there was in both his mind and his body, and he followed men who had become noted as speakers in both branches of Congress.

. . . . . .

"The demonstration that followed Foraker's speech was the greatest ever seen in a convention. It lasted twenty minutes and all efforts to cut it off failed. Other demonstrations may have lasted longer, but it was conceded among the newspaper men who have attended all national conventions for years that none equaled it in extent of enthusiasm or wild demonstrations. The Governor was cut short, in fact, and quit at the end of a climax before he had finished. It was a Sherman speech through and through, and the first to rush up and congratulate the Governor were Foster, McKinley, Butterworth, Hanna and other delegates who have been said to be jealous of Foraker's popularity.

. . . . . .

"The Chicago *Tribune*, which has been sneering at Foraker, General Boynton, Mr. Halstead—and indeed everybody—praises the Governor's speech in the highest terms."

The *Buckeye Volunteer*, a soldier paper of large circulation in Ohio at that time, said:

But it was reserved for our gallant and eloquent Foraker to set the convention wild over Sherman in seconding his nomination. It was certainly the greatest effort and the greatest event of Foraker's eventful life. Much was expected of him, but he outdid the greatest that was expected. When he was called to the platform there was placed on the opposite side or end from where he stood, a great floral tribute of a bank of flowers, fully as large as an ordinary bed, on which was inscribed, in bright letters of flowers, the words, now famous, "No rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor." Foraker was evidently surprised at this and manifested his surprise and disapprobation by a wave of his hand and telling the bearers of it to take it away, no doubt feeling that it might be a fresh source of misrepresentation as to his sincerity of the support of Sherman. But if any one thought this, he was soon set aright as to Foraker's loyalty to Sherman, by the eloquent manner in which he presented Sherman's name, which was interrupted throughout by applause, and which, when Foraker ended, broke out into a regular pandemonium, which lasted for over fifteen minutes, accompanied by a scene of shouting and waving of flags, handkerchiefs and throwing of hats and the like, which equalled the demonstration when Blaine was put in nomination four years ago.

F. D. Mussey, in the *Commercial Gazette*, said:

When Foraker arose to second the nomination there was a second outbreak, lasting longer than the first. The whole convention and audience joined in the applause. This was deepened when an enormous floral emblem was carried to the stage and placed so as to face the

people, showing in bright flowers the words: "No rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor." This caused so much enthusiasm that it was a long time before the famous Ohio Governor could speak, eager as the throng were to hear him. At last it became quiet and Foraker began his great speech, and the Convention entered upon the scenes that will live in history among the most remarkable ever recorded of the deliberations of civil assemblages.

Mr. Foraker had gone on in his speech amid rapidly growing excitement. As he scored brilliant point after brilliant point in his magnetic manner, he wrought the vast throng up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. The crowd had been almost bursting with it for two days. Foraker removed the pressure, and the greatest popular explosion of patriotic sentiment ever known in the country was the result. Foraker's eulogy of Sherman was grand beyond expectation, especially when taken in connection with the unprecedented combination of surroundings. He closed his speech with an allusion to the fact that the Democrats had chosen the red bandana for their banner, and that the Republican Party, the party of America and for America, would carry for their banner the American flag.

That broke the last link that held down the pent-up and bubbling feelings of the Convention. They burst forth with a mighty roar like a storm on a rock-bound coast or the thunders of the sky. The Convention passed beyond all control or thought of control. Ten thousand banners of the stars and stripes were waved aloft. The heads of the people disappeared under the dazzling commingling of red, white and blue in silk and bunting and muslin. The men jumped upon chairs and tables. Every person in the house was on his feet, every voice was raised. The din was deafening. It was not for a man, it was not for a platform, it was for the flag—the flag of America, the flag of the free. It was for all that flag means and represents. It was the mighty reflex wave from all the tendency of things in the last few years. It was the patriotic pride of the people, their devotion, their love, their faithfulness expressing itself. Faster and faster the myriad of banners waved, wilder and wilder grew the excitement and grander grew the scene. Upon it looked the faces of the great heroes of the Republican Party and calmly facing it in marble the heroic head of John A. Logan. Overhead, all around, by the tens of thousands, appeared the beautiful flag of America. The air was full of inspiration. It was charged with electricity of patriotism and love of home and glorification of great souls, great deeds, a great land, great anticipation and memories that thrill men's hearts of days that will never die. On and on went the mighty demonstration as the minutes crept away. Is there a pause? No. Is not the limit reached? No. It has not yet reached the verge of frenzy, but men who are wise and calm men are moved out of themselves, and with flaming eyes and strained voices join in the acclaim. Higher and higher it goes, wider and wider broadens this field of patriotic sentiment. A hundred feet above your head hands that look like those of children reach out and wave the great bands of red, white and blue bunting that run across the hall for hundreds of feet. From this lofty elevation flutter down small flags, so that the air itself has its share of the starry emblems.

The minutes pass away—nine minutes. Do you think what nine minutes of this sane delirium, this wild outpouring of the human soul's most sacred sentiments is? There is no pause, there is no appearance of cessation. Every time the President pounds with his gavel they go a note higher, if possible. They can see the gavel, they cannot hear it. Suddenly the last volume of sound begins to assume a rhythmic cadence. It does so involuntarily. The same impulse comes to every unit in that great aggregate. It grows and deepens. Slowly but surely it becomes more evident, and at last it takes form in "Marching Through Georgia," and as the mighty chorus swelled in perfect harmony from ten thousand throats, the scene became sublime. Men ordinarily collective lost their heads and were men in the excitement of battle.

Those who were present might never forget that scene, and the memory might always stir their heart's yearning. Men who met in that hall could get some idea of the feeling behind the American flag, of the sentiment it stands for, with its power to move men's souls and understand as they never did before why their fathers poured out their blood that it should not touch the earth. The old snuff rag —it seems a sacrilege to mention it here—played a good part in that it was the instrument in bringing about this demonstration which was, in its way, as grand and effective and as unexpected as the storming of the heights of Missionary Ridge.

When the adjournment came everybody went away saying: "This has been a great and memorable day, and it is good that we have been here."

CHAPTER XXIII.

1888

THE NOMINATION OF HARRISON.

AFTER a whole day spent in listening to nominating and seconding speeches the Convention adjourned until Friday morning when balloting for candidates commenced. I had already learned enough of the sentiment of the different delegations to know that the hopes I had as to Mr. Sherman, based on the representations of Mr. Sherman, Mr. Hanna, General Grosvenor and others, would not be realized; but I was not prepared for so much of a disappointment as I received. The total vote for Mr. Sherman on the first ballot was only 229; but this much smaller vote than I had been assured he would get was not the worst feature. My greatest disappointment was in the fact that outside of Ohio and Pennsylvania practically all his support came from the South. Massachusetts, with a delegation of 28, gave him only 9 votes. Maine, with her 12, gave him only 1. With the exception of these 10 votes he had no support whatever from the whole of New England, New York or New Jersey, and with the exception of 3 votes from Nebraska he had no support whatever from the Western and Northwestern parts of the country. In other words, the great bulk of the votes from the Republican States were distributed among the other candidates, who received respectively: Gresham, 107; Harrison, 85; Depew, 99; Allison, 72, and Alger, 84.

We knew we would have a larger vote on the second ballot from Pennsylvania, but beyond that fact all was mere speculation, with the chances against us, although the next highest vote to Sherman's on the first ballot was only 107 for Gresham. Ordinarily such a lead as this would have

indicated ultimate success, but the trouble in this instance was that the large vote from the South came from States that could not give our nominee an electoral vote, and came under circumstances that did more harm than good.

The Purchase of Tickets from Southern Delegates.

Each delegate to the Convention was entitled to two extra tickets of admission for each session. The purpose of these extra tickets was to enable those furnished with them to accommodate friends, but the delegates from the Southern States were far from home and short of cash. They had few friends to accommodate, but many necessities that were urgent. Even before the first session of the Convention was held rumors were afloat that the Southern delegates were selling their extra tickets and that they were being purchased in the respective interests of different candidates. The names of General Alger and Mr. Sherman were both mentioned in this connection.

I had no personal knowledge of anything of the kind being done by anybody until a day or two before the balloting commenced, when I had occasion to go to Mr. Hanna's room to see him about something and found him there engaged in buying and paying for such tickets. There were a number of negro delegates in his room, and he was taking their tickets and paying them therefor in the most open, business-like way.

I was greatly surprised by what I saw and ventured to express displeasure therewith. He defended his action as necessary because the same tactics were being resorted to by others. I quickly left his room and never returned to it. I also succeeded in exchanging my room, then near his, for another on a different floor, which I occupied until the close of the Convention.

Mr. Sherman in his "Personal Recollections" states that he was informed and made to believe that the friends of General Alger were bribing delegates from the Southern States, who had been instructed to vote for him and to desert him and vote for Alger by buying their tickets. What was

done in that respect I do not know, but a glance at the vote cast by the Southern delegates will show that Mr. Hanna did not allow very many of them to get away from him. For instance, out of 20 votes from Alabama, Alger got 6, Sherman 12; Georgia, Alger none, Sherman 19; Louisiana, Alger 2, Sherman 9; Mississippi, Alger none, Sherman 12; North Carolina, Alger 2, Sherman 15; South Carolina, Alger 3, Sherman 11; Tennessee, Alger 9, Sherman 7; Virginia, Alger 3, Sherman 11, and so on to the end.

I came to know General Alger in later years much better than I knew him at that time. I knew enough of the two men, Sherman and Alger, to know that neither one would have countenanced or permitted the doing of any such thing in his behalf if he had been informed about it, and I am sure that neither one ever believed that anything of the kind had been done in his behalf. Mr. Sherman says so in so many words in his "Personal Recollections," and General Alger said so in the most emphatic manner as often as he had occasion to speak on the subject.

There was much discussion among the delegates as to what was going on with respect to the Southern vote, but I did not hear of anybody denying that Mr. Hanna was purchasing tickets from the negro delegates; certainly there was no denial by Mr. Hanna. An entirely different defense was made. It was that he was only trying to hold delegates who had been instructed by their constituents to support Mr. Sherman. On the other hand, it was asserted that nobody was bound to respect the instructions for the reason that they had been purchased in the first place, as the tickets were then being purchased. The whole subject is unsavory and disagreeable and I mention it at all only because of what Mr. Sherman said, and because of what Mr. Croly has said in his life of Mr. Hanna, and to the end that justice may be done to all concerned, including Mr. Hanna, who was so constituted that he was unable to see anything in the transaction except only that he was holding on to what belonged to him and that there was nothing to consider, except only the price he had to pay; and he was not the man to allow that to stand in the way.

Mr. Croly, after referring to this incident, and quoting from a statement I made at the time with respect to it, adds the following:

> There is some truth in the foregoing statement. Other members of the Convention state that Mr. Hanna had in his trunk more tickets to the Convention than he could have obtained in any way except by their purchase from negro delegates. Such practices were common at the time, but they were indefensible, and if they evoked a protest from Mr. Foraker he deserves credit for the protest.

Mr. Croly seems to have investigated for himself and to have found confirmatory proof of the truth of my statement. If he made any earnest investigation he is unjust in trying to minimize by saying, "there is *some* truth" in my statement. My statement was the exact truth—nothing more, nothing less—and almost any member of the delegation would tell him so.

He is in error in saying, "Mr. Hanna had in *his* trunk more tickets," etc. These tickets were turned over by Mr. Hanna to another, who voluntarily told me several years afterward that he still had them in his trunk and that while he could not state the exact number, yet he could say there were a great many of them.

But the greatest inaccuracy in Mr. Croly's statement is that such practices "were common at the time." Such practices were not common. I never heard of any such practice except in this one instance and it was my fortune to attend as a delegate six consecutive National Republican Conventions.

My opportunity has been, therefore, fairly good to hear of such practices if they were common.

The Second Ballot.

On the second ballot Mr. Sherman received 24 additional votes from Pennsylvania, making his total support from that State 53 votes; but he lost a few votes from other States, so that his total vote on the second ballot was only 249. This was the highest vote he received at any time. On this second ballot the vote for other candidates stood as

follows: Alger, 116; Allison, 75; Depew, 99; Gresham, 108; Harrison, 91.

On the third ballot Mr. Sherman fell to 244, while the other candidates received the following: Alger, 122; Harrison, 94; Depew, 91; and Allison, 88. Thereupon Mr. Depew withdrew his name from further consideration and the Convention adjourned until Saturday morning, when the fourth ballot was taken, on which Mr. Sherman received only 235 votes. The other candidates received the following: Harrison, 216; Alger, 135; Gresham, 98; Allison, 88 votes.

With Depew out of the race and his strength thrown to Harrison, whose vote was largely increasing while Sherman's vote was steadily decreasing, coupled with a story that Mr. Blaine would be made a candidate on the next ballot, the situation seemed a hopeless one for Mr. Sherman. All of us felt relieved when the Convention took a recess until four o'clock.

Blaine Pressure.

During this recess the story gained wide circulation and credence that the Blaine men would turn to the support of Blaine on the next ballot. Not only was this asserted but it was confidently claimed that they would have enough votes on that ballot to nominate him.

Most of the Ohio delegates, feeling that Mr. Sherman's chance was hopeless, and believing that Blaine could and would be nominated as suggested, notified me as the Chairman of the Delegation that if, by the time Ohio was reached on the next ballot, it should appear that Blaine was to be nominated they would demand the right to vote for him. In such event I could not have denied the right they proposed to assert; but I had no disposition to do so. I felt that a large majority of the Convention favored the nomination of Mr. Blaine, and that if there should be a serious turn to him he would be nominated, and that such nomination would be evident by the time Ohio was reached, and that in such case it would not only be our privilege but

our duty toward Mr. Sherman, as well as the party, to cast our vote for Mr. Blaine, to the end that he might be nominated with as much cordiality and unanimity as possible, if he was to be nominated at all.

It was, therefore, not only in accordance with my own views, but the wisest policy for me, under the circumstances, to concede to the Ohio delegates the right they were proposing to claim, and to go further as I did, and say that in the event mentioned I should join with them in voting for Mr. Blaine, but I urged them to remain steadfast until the last moment; that we could break at any time, but it would be impossible to mend matters if a break should be made prematurely and unnecessarily.

When four o'clock came the Convention reconvened, but adjourned without a ballot until Monday morning.

This gave us Saturday evening and Sunday in which to thoroughly survey the situation and find out how, if possible, it could be improved. We were delivered from the Blaine peril by the receipt on Sunday of a message from Mr. Blaine, positively prohibiting the use of his name, and announcing that he would not accept the nomination if tendered.

This put a new aspect on everything. Some of the Sherman men took new courage, and claimed there was a promise of the New York delegation coming to Mr. Sherman's support on Monday. They claimed to have good prospects of additional strength from various other quarters. Personally I did not hear of anything that was encouraging, and I knew that Mr. Hanna and a number of others in the Ohio delegation, who claimed to be closer to Mr. Sherman than anybody else, were of the same opinion. Some of them so expressed themselves; not only to me, but to others. In this way they explained their activity in making favorable mention of Major McKinley.

Much might be repeated that was said in this respect; but it is sufficient to say that they were busy not only in Chicago among the delegates, in Convention circles, but also by wire with Mr. Sherman at Washington.

I was not aware of what was passing between them and Mr. Sherman until I received from him on Sunday afternoon the following telegram:

HON. J. B. FORAKER, WASHINGTON, June 24, 1888.
National Republican Convention,
Chicago, Illinois.

I appreciate your position. Think it best for all for you to stand united. Have declined request of McKinley's friends. There should be a test vote on Blaine before I withdraw. His nomination should be assured before Ohio breaks. Will you accept nomination as his (Blaine's) vice? JOHN SHERMAN.

To which I answered:

HON. JOHN SHERMAN, CHICAGO, June 24, 1888.
Washington, D. C.

I have refused to allow my name to be mentioned by anybody for anything, and I do not think it will be mentioned in the Convention, but if it should be it will be without my consent or approval, and if I should be nominated it will be declined unless you should request me to accept. J. B. FORAKER.

TENDER OF BLAINE SUPPORT.

Except only to Mrs. Foraker and two or three close friends I said nothing about these telegrams until at two o'clock Monday morning I was wakened by a delegation of Blaine men, among whom were Senator Stephen B. Elkins of West Virginia, and Hon. Samuel Fessenden of Connecticut. I do not now recall the names of the others.

They told me they had just come from a meeting of Blaine leaders, at which it was determined to throw the entire Blaine strength to me on Monday morning if I would accept the nomination.

I, of course, greatly appreciated the compliment, and would have been glad to have accepted the support thus tendered if I had considered myself in a situation that permitted me to do so. I thereupon told them of these telegrams that had passed between Mr. Sherman and myself only a few hours before; that I could not, and would not, accept the nomination, no matter how cordially it might be

tendered, unless preceded or accompanied with a request from Sherman that I should accept.

After talking with me at some length, endeavoring to persuade me that I had done everything in my power to secure the nomination of Mr. Sherman, and that Mr. Sherman's nomination having become impossible, and that fact being manifest to all, I was no longer under obligation to allow him to obstruct my own nomination, and I refusing to accede to their wishes, they retired to make a report to those who had sent them, who thereupon concluded to support General Harrison, whose vote had been so largely increased on the last ballot. The interview and the nature of it were of confidential character, especially after General Harrison was nominated, and on that account nothing was published so far as I am aware until Mr. Fessenden, prompted by something Senator Elkins was reported to have said, gave a full account of the incident substantially as I have narrated it, in an interview which was at the time widely published.

I quote from the news columns of the Cincinnati *Tribune* of January 2nd, 1896, the following:

WAS JOSEPH B. TRUE TO JOHN?

FORAKER'S FRIENDS CLAIM HE WAS "DEAD STRAIGHT" IN '88. ELKINS AND FESSENDEN TELL A WONDERFUL TALE ABOUT HARRISON'S NOMINATION.—SHERMAN NOT SOLD OUT.—THE BLAINE MEN SAY FORAKER GENEROUSLY REFUSED TO BE PRESIDENT, AND WAS LOYAL TO OHIO'S CANDIDATE.

NEW YORK, Jan. 2.—The discussion provoked by the publication of Senator Sherman's recollections is bringing to light a great deal of political history, some of which is of extraordinary interest and importance.

A complete history of the convention which nominated Harrison will, perhaps, not be written, but a great many salient facts have been related during the last few days.

Senator Elkins of West Virginia, in an interview in Washington recently, said that he was Mr. Blaine's personal representative in the Convention of 1888, and was in frequent communication with him by cable. He, and he alone, possessed the cipher code of which they made use.

"The Blaine forces in the convention of 1888," said Mr. Elkins, "were compact and efficiently organized. The nomination of General Harrison was not the result of a bargain of any kind, as Senator Sherman has perhaps been led to believe. It grew out of the situation, and

was inevitable. Many of the Blaine men wanted to go to Governor Foraker.

"In the excitement incident to the continued refusal of Mr. Blaine to allow his name to be placed before the convention, from the time of adjournment Saturday until Monday, there was considerable discussion as to the candidates and who would be named.

Foraker's Name Discussed.

"A great many Blaine men and others discussed the name of Foraker on the ground that he, perhaps, could have the entire vote of Ohio in case it broke away from Sherman. This went so far that some of Mr. Blaine's friends, who were very friendly to Foraker and admirers of his, urged him to become a candidate.

"Governor Foraker not only said once, but often, that under no circumstances would he permit his name to be used in connection with the Presidency so long as the name of Senator Sherman was before the convention."

Today a representative of the United Press had a talk with the Hon. Samuel Fessenden about the Convention of 1888. Mr. Fessenden is the Connecticut member of the Republican National Committee, and has been for a number of years. He was a devoted friend of Mr. Blaine, and has been one of the leading spirits in the last three Republican national conventions. He said:

"I remember perfectly the incident to which Senator Elkins refers. Mr. Blaine had finally declined. His determination could not be shaken. We were at sea and casting about for some one else. We had discussed a number of the older leaders of the party, and several of us who were very active Blaine men came to the conclusion that we could unite most effectively upon a newer and younger man than any of those who had been formally named as a candidate.

"Foraker, of Ohio, had by his presence, his oratory, his earnestness and his magnetism, made a powerful impression upon the Convention. It seemed to me and many of my friends that he was the man to go to.

"I discussed the matter with Mr. Elkins and others, and about 2 o'clock on Monday morning we were taken to the room of Governor Foraker by Mr. Kurtz, a delegate from Ohio, whom we asked to conduct us.

Interviewed Foraker in Bed.

"We found Foraker had gone to bed.

"After some delay we were admitted rather reluctantly to his bedside. We sat down on the bed beside him and told him that we had come to an important moment and upon important business, and we desired his earnest attention while we stated the case.

"We then went over the ground fully and showed him that the Blaine following controlled the Convention, and assured him that if he would consent to become a candidate we could secure more than 500 votes. We told him that Blaine was out of the race, and that the majority of his friends seemed more disposed to support him than any one else.

"We made it very clear to him that if he would consent to become a candidate he could be nominated without fail, and without difficulty, on the first or second ballot Monday.

"We assured Governor Foraker that we desired no pledges from him respecting policies or patronage, and that we only wanted him to agree not to get up and decline the nomination after the Convention had made him its candidate. Mr. Foraker, without hesitation, said firmly and emphatically:

STOOD BY SHERMAN.

"'I thank you, gentlemen, with all my heart, but I could not accept the nomination if it came to me unless Mr. Sherman first withdrew and asked me to become a candidate. I feel sure he will not do that. I came here to try and nominate him, and cannot consider the proposition to become a candidate. I will stand by him.'

"I then tried," continued Mr. Fessenden, "to convince him that the situation was beyond his control. I called attention to the fact that Garfield had accepted the nomination after it was plain that Mr. Sherman could not be nominated.

"Governor Foraker answered quick as a flash: 'I can prevent my nomination and I will. It is not too late, and I do not wish to be put into the position which Garfield was put in.'

"This closed the interview with Governor Foraker, and the lines were at once closed up for Harrison and he was nominated easily and promptly, just as Foraker would have been had he chosen to become a candidate himself."

WOULD NOT TALK—THE EX-GOVERNOR TOO DEEPLY INTERESTED IN OTHER MATTERS.

A *Tribune* man called at ex-Governor Foraker's residence last night and found him busy at work preparing a case which he is to try today. He was told of the fact that statements were given out by Elkins and Fessenden telling what the circumstances were which compelled him to decline the nomination for President in 1888, and asked if he would make any statement himself.

This he positively refused to do, saying: "Wait until I have read the statements of Elkins and Fessenden, and perhaps I will make one."

It was then proposed to the Governor that the reporter send to *The Tribune* office for the telegraphic reports of these statements and show them to him.

"I am more interested in this case I am preparing than the Presidency, and I cannot give you any more time tonight."

"More than the Presidency, Governor?"

"Oh, well, of course, I did not mean that; but more than in the matter which you want me to talk about."

I have never myself publicly said anything about the interview until now, thinking it should be told first by the gentlemen who sought it rather than by myself, and when they published an account of it I was occupied with more

important matters. I did not know that either Senator Elkins or Mr. Fessenden intended to say anything about it until I saw their statements in print.

Some months later, August, 1896, there appeared in *Leslie's Popular Monthly* an article by Rufus R. Wilson on the general subject of National Conventions, in the course of which he related and confirmed all Mr. Fessenden said.

I do not know Mr. Wilson, never did know him, and had nothing to do with the preparation or publication of his article, and do not know and never did know how he came to write it. I do know, however, that as to all important facts touching this subject it is a truthful statement. There are several other persons still living who were present at the interview and are familiar with all I have narrated.

If knowledge of this incident could have been made public at the time it might have prevented a good deal of the abuse to which I was subjected, but I managed to take care of myself fairly well without using it.

No ban of secrecy was upon the telegrams that passed between Senator Sherman and myself; therefore, I was at liberty to use them and did so most effectively.

I was not aware until I reached Columbus on my return from the Convention that any telegrams reflecting upon the Ohio delegation or on myself had been sent out during the last days of the Convention. I was greatly surprised, therefore, when I read day after day for several days ugly charges of treachery, bad faith and selfish purposes against both the delegation and myself, that had no foundation in fact, and no excuse whatever, except in the imagination of a lot of sore, disappointed and disgruntled mischief makers who knew they were disseminating malicious misrepresentation.

One of the first speeches I had occasion to make after the nomination of Harrison and Morton was at a ratification meeting held at Springfield, Ohio, July 2nd. It was a tremendously large and exceedingly enthusiastic meeting. There had been so much said in the newspapers about the conduct of the Ohio delegation at Chicago, most of it with

the evident purpose to saddle upon me in some way responsibility for Mr. Sherman's defeat, that I deemed it my duty to take advantage of this opportunity to speak in detail, not only of the delegation as a whole, but of my own part in that Convention in particular. This part of my speech was as follows:

And now, having said that much to you about the Convention as a whole, I want to say something to you particularly about the Ohio delegation to that Convention. This is a little bit personal. There is no fun in this; at least there has not been any fun for me since the Convention adjourned. To be serious with you, I want to make a statement to this intelligent audience as to the part taken by the Ohio delegation in that Convention. I was not aware until I got home from Chicago that anybody had been saying any bad things about the delegation as a whole, or about any individual member of it. Then I learned that some telegrams had been sent out from Chicago that had excited a great deal of comment, a great deal of criticism, and a great deal of discussion that ought never to have been started at all, simply because there was

NEVER A JUST FOUNDATION FOR IT.

I understand that on Saturday of the Convention—that is, I have learned this since I came home—it was telegraphed from Chicago that a portion of the Ohio delegation had threatened to lead a bolt from the support of Senator Sherman, and the comments on account of that are what I want to talk to you about for a moment. I want to tell you how much truth there is in it, and I have two or three documents here that I want to read to you in connection with it. I do this, not so much on my personal account, as because it is due every member of the Ohio delegation. I want to say about the delegation as a whole, in the first place, that Ohio never before sent a delegation to a National Republican Convention that was so determined to be a unit on every important question, concerning which they might have to vote (applause), a unit for Sherman, and a unit for everything that concerned his interests, and hence it was that at the very first meeting the delegation held they instructed me, by a unanimous vote, as chairman of the delegation, to cast on every ballot

FORTY-SIX VOTES FOR JOHN SHERMAN

until otherwise notified. On the first and second and third and fourth and fifth ballots forty-six votes were cast without anybody asking to have the delegation polled. But after the fifth ballot had been cast a recess was had, which was taken at noon Saturday to 4 o'clock that afternoon. When we were assembling after the recess at 4 o'clock some of the delegates came to me and said: "We have learned that on this next ballot, which in a few minutes is to be taken, the Blaine men in this convention intend to put before it as the candidate to be nominated, James G. Blaine." They said to me that they were in-

formed that he not only was to be put before the Convention as a candidate for nomination, but that they were satisfied that there were votes enough in the Convention to nominate him; and I was satisfied of it, too. I think every other intelligent man who was without bias of judgment was of the same opinion. They said, "Now, if that break is made it means that by the time Ohio is reached—for Ohio, you know, comes well down the list of states, comes after New York—it will be manifest not only that Mr. Sherman can not be nominated, but Mr. Blaine will be, whether we want him or not." They said in that event they wanted the delegation polled

That They Might Vote for Him.

As the chairman of the delegation I had no right to deny them that request. More than that I did not wish to deny it to them. And I will tell you why I did not. I said to them, I said to all, I said it openly, I said it without any thought of anybody misconstruing it or misrepresenting it, that it was not certain the break would come. If no break did come, I thought we should continue to stand a unit, but I said if such a break comes, and if it is manifest, when Ohio is reached, that Sherman's column is gone, and that James G. Blaine is to be the choice of the Convention, then, in view of all the circumstances, I shall feel it the duty, and shall so insist to the Ohio delegation, that the whole delegation shall accept the result in good humor and give a solid vote to the man from Maine. (Tremendous applause.) Why? Simply because if he was to be the nominee of that Convention we owed it to the cause of Republicanism to make the nomination with as much zeal and unanimity as we could; and we owed it to John Sherman, and to ourselves as his followers, to accept the result in good humor. That is the way the matter stood; in other words, no break was ever contemplated except only on the basis I have named. And, in the second place, no break ever came, because, when we met at four o'clock, instead of proceeding to ballot, we concluded to adjourn until Monday.

The delegation immediately had a meeting after the adjournment was made. At that meeting they wanted to discuss what further course they would pursue, but

Upon My Suggestion,

made before anyone was allowed to take the floor, the discussion and consideration of the matter was postponed until Monday morning, in the hope, as I expressed it, that when Monday morning came the danger that threatened to break our column might have passed away. When Monday morning came I had the pleasure of announcing to the delegation that the danger that threatened it had passed away, and that Ohio ought to continue to cast her vote solidly for John Sherman. With that the delegation agreed and we did so cast our ballot, with the exception that on the seventh and the eighth ballots Mr. Luckey insisted that he had been an old soldier who had marched with Ben Harrison to the sea, and he was going to vote for Ben Harrison, no matter who said to the contrary. (Applause.)

That is the record. I mention all this simply because there has been so much discussion in the newspapers that has been based on misinformation that I feel it to be my duty toward the Republicans of Ohio, and particularly toward the members of the Ohio delegation, to state the exact facts. I am fortunate in having on this platform with me tonight Mr. John Foos, your own distinguished fellow townsman, who represented this district, in part, with much credit to himself in that Convention. (Applause.) He can confirm the truth of every word I utter. I am saying this not simply for this audience, but because these stenographers here will give it to the Republicans of the whole State. I want simply to add that there is nothing in my conduct, or in the conduct of any member of that delegation, so far as I know, that needs to be explained, excused or defended by any man. (Applause.) On the contrary, for every act, for every word, for every deed, I challenge and defy the criticism of even the most unkind or the most malicious.

Now, something else still more personal. It is due the Republicans of the State to know all the truth. I have seen it stated that I was

POSING AS A CANDIDATE

for a place on the ticket. Your townsman, Mr. Foos, can refute that. Every other delegate in that Convention who spoke to me on the subject can refute it.

To every man who spoke to me on the subject before I went to Chicago, and to every delegate or non-delegate, in Chicago who suggested such a thing to me, I had but one answer, and that was, not that they would embarrass me by voting for me, but that though they might nominate me by acclamation I would not accept it, unless such a nomination was coupled with a request from John Sherman that I should accept. (Tremendous applause and cheers.) While there, on the day before the nomination was made, I received a telegram from Mr. Sherman from which I read: "I appreciate your position." This was after the threatened break of Saturday, when he was fully acquainted with the whole matter. "Think it best for all for Ohio to stand united. Have declined request of McKinley's friends." Whatever that might be; I did not know what it was; I made no request. I did not know anybody else was making requests. "There should be a test vote on Blaine before I withdraw." I did not know who had asked him to withdraw; I never did; never thought of such a thing; neither did any friend of mine ask him to withdraw. You can surmise for yourselves who may have asked him to withdraw. "His (Blaine's) nomination should be assured before Ohio breaks." That is exactly what I said and insisted upon.

NOW COMES ANOTHER SENTENCE

which I want all to hear: "Will you accept the nomination as his (Blaine's) vice?—JOHN SHERMAN."

I answered that as follows: "I have refused to allow my name to be mentioned by anybody for anything, and I do not think it will be mentioned in the Convention; but if it should be, it will be without my

consent or approval, and if I should be nominated it will be declined, unless you should request me to accept.—J. B. Foraker." (Long applause.)

The last thing I heard from Senator Sherman was in the shape of a telegram that came to the Convention shortly after Mr. Harrison had been nominated. It was addressed to Mr. Hanna, one of the delegates, and his special manager, who gave me the telegram as I read it to you: "My hearty thanks to the Ohio delegation. We have preserved our honor and, though beaten, are not disheartened.—John Sherman."

That I put before you only because I have said the misrepresentations have seemed to make it necessary, not for me alone, but for the whole delegation and for

The Cause of Republicanism

throughout this State, in order that it may be made apparent to every Republican in this State, just as John Sherman said, we saved our honor, something that was never in danger, however, of being lost except only in the imagination of a lot of infernal scoundrels who never had any honor to save. (Loud applause.)

Now, my fellow citizens, I trust that is enough. It is said for the good of Republicanism; it has been said to shut the mouth of slander. The time has come to tell the truth and stop all bickering; to join together as one man about our standard, to carry this great party to a triumphant victory with General Harrison at the head of it. (Great applause and cheers.)

No one knew better than Governor Foster what occurred in the Chicago Convention. He was a delegate-at-large, an out-and-out Sherman man and in close co-operation with Hanna, McKinley and Butterworth, previous to the Convention, during the Convention, and for a long time after the Convention. Seeing how I was assailed he wrote me as follows:

July 13, 1888.

My Dear Governor:— . . . Your experience and mine in 1880 are so much alike as to compel my sympathy.

I have no doubt of your good purposes; if any errors were committed they are not chargeable to a disposition to be other than faithful to Mr. Sherman's interests.

I had faith in his canvass up to the first ballot on Monday. This was because I relied upon information and promises made that did not materialize.

As soon as I can do so conveniently I will have a full talk and will give you the benefit of all I know. I am glad to know that Mr. Sherman does not, as he did in my case, feel unkindly toward yourself.

Yours very truly,

Hon. J. B. Foraker. Chas. Foster.

There was some discussion, however, in the newspapers more pleasant to me than to the other gentlemen who were the subjects of it. Among other articles published, and a fair sample of many, is the following from the Toledo *Blade*:

No man could be placed in a more trying position than was Governor Foraker at the Chicago Convention, and no one could acquit himself more honorably.

Ohio had put John Sherman forward as a candidate for the Presidency and placed Governor Foraker at the head of the delegation. Of the Ohio delegates not more than fifteen out of forty-six were at heart in favor of Sherman. There was no probability of his selection from the start. Yet Governor Foraker, obeying instructions of his State, and indulging in the hope of success, held the Ohio delegates solid for Sherman to the last. He did this in the face of circumstances most discouraging in every particular.

Senator Sherman showed himself suspicious, jealous and unappreciative.

His close friends were disposed to be insolent and offensive.

The men in the delegation and out of it, who were actively arranging a McKinley boom in the case of the failure of Sherman, sought to divert attention from themselves by insinuations that Governor Foraker was not acting heartily for Sherman. The truth is, that if Foraker had not been in the delegation; or, being there, had not exerted all his influence in behalf of Sherman, the Blaine sentiment would have asserted itself almost at the start, and the Sherman machine would have collapsed at once.

It is well enough for Republicans in the State to understand that Governor Foraker was, by all odds, the most popular Ohio man in the Convention; that he exerted the influence which this gave him to hold the Ohio delegation solid and to promote the interest of the candidate which this State was supporting; that he acted a most manly and honorable part; that he did not indulge in any dramatic efforts to bring himself prominently before the Convention at the critical juncture; that if he had worked to that end, and permitted his friends to do so, the probability is very strong that he would have been the nominee of the Convention. These are facts and logical conclusions which it is well enough to understand at this time.

The Springfield speech and the disclosures of the telegrams that passed between Sherman and me had the effect of silencing the hostile critics of the delegation and myself until after the election of Harrison.

I have already shown the demands upon me during the summer of 1888 on account of the National G. A. R. Encampment and our numerous Centennial celebrations.

In addition to all that and the National Convention there came the demands of the campaign.

I was flooded with invitations to speak both outside and inside Ohio. In response to them I spoke in Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Indiana, Illinois and a number of other Western States. Some of these meetings were of memorable character.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PITCHER GOES TO THE WELL ONCE TOO OFTEN.

HARRISON was no sooner elected than Cabinet making commenced. Ohio had three or four men who seemed available for such a service, and were much talked about in that connection. These were Senator Sherman, ex-Governor Foster, Major Butterworth and myself. I did not want any such position and very promptly made the fact known. Senator Sherman preferred to remain in the Senate, and so announced. Major Butterworth had been re-elected to Congress, and was credited with ambitions for the Speakership. The result was that General Harrison finally gave Ohio recognition in connection with his Cabinet by making ex-Governor Foster Secretary of the Treasury.

The election being over and everything dependent upon it being apparently out of danger the newspapers felt at liberty to throw off all restraint and be ugly or otherwise, as they might choose. The Honorable Richard Smith had severed connection with the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* and had become editor of the Toledo *Commercial*. He soon gave evidence that a change of pasture had not changed his unfriendly attitude with respect to myself. He published several editorials that were of hostile and criticising character, all based upon alleged treachery to Sherman at the Chicago Convention; but little attention was paid to him, however, until on February 16th he made an exceedingly offensive attack, in the course of which he said:

> If Governor Foraker should be a candidate for re-election for Governor; or if he should name the candidate, whether it be Bushnell or anybody else, his throat would be cut from ear to ear.

He had other paragraphs even more offensive, but the gist of all was expressed in what has been quoted. Bush-

nell, since the Dayton Convention, had been much talked about as a candidate for Governor but until that editorial was published I was not aware that anybody was thinking about making me a candidate for a third term. The effect was what might have been foreseen. Immediately everybody commenced thinking about it and talking about it. There was so much talk that General Bushnell, without any notice to me and without my knowledge that he was thinking of any such thing, publicly announced that he would not, under any circumstances, be a candidate.

The ostensible precipitating cause of this outbreak was some remarks I made at a Lincoln Day banquet held at Columbus under the auspices of the Ohio League of Republican Clubs February 12th, at which Governor Alger of Michigan, and Governor Bradley of Kentucky, were the guests of honor. I took occasion to compliment them upon the sturdy quality of their Republicanism. As to Governor Alger I said:

> Governor Alger, let me say to you that nowhere in the United States have you warmer or better friends and more devoted admirers than you have among the fighting Republicans of the State of Ohio. (Immense applause, during which the entire audience rose to their feet and waved handkerchiefs. A voice: "Don't forget Bradley.") I will get to Bradley in a minute, I am not done with Alger. (Renewed applause.) The reason for this is in the fact that the Republicans of Ohio, like a man who, when he meets with defeat in the party accepts the situation, steps to the front, and, like a gallant knight, helps to carry the banner on to victory. (Great applause.) Michigan, since four years ago, had been called a doubtful State, but when the Chicago Convention registered its verdict in favor of another than Michigan's leader, the word came to us from Governor Alger, "Turn your attention to New York, Connecticut, New Jersey and Indiana, and I will take care of the State of Michigan." (Applause.) And he did take care of the State of Michigan. (Cries of "He's all right, you bet.") But he did more than take care of the State of Michigan. It was my fortune when in the Eastern States in New York, Connecticut and elsewhere wherever I went, to find Governor Alger a leader among the leaders, preaching the doctrine of Republicanism and rallying the hosts of our party to the victory that we won. (Applause.) We like Republicans who know how to take their medicine. (Continued applause.) That is the kind of Republicans that are here tonight, representing the three hundred Republican clubs of the State of Ohio with their forty thousand membership of fighting Republicans. (Tremendous applause.)

I had no thought whatever of giving offense to anybody by paying General Alger the deserved compliment I expressed, but the Honorable Richard Smith took umbrage and published the offensive and warlike editorial mentioned. General Grosvenor, and all those who had been so hostile at the Chicago Convention, broke out in similar fashion. The offense I gave was in the truth I stated.

The Republican press of the State, almost unanimously, took Mr. Smith to task in severest terms of criticism. As a sample of what practically all were saying I quote the following from the Ironton *Register:*

> The present editor of the Toledo *Commercial,* who is writing so venomously against Gov. Foraker, is the man who wrote the editorial in the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette,* during the Chicago Convention, that was an insult to every member of the Ohio delegation. As soon as Halstead got away from the office the deacon, who used to be good, began to rage and imagine a vain thing. He cavorted and bulged around like a bull in a china shop, on which account Halstead had to discipline him. Now he has a paper of his own, where he can lash himself into fury every day in the year. But he will do no harm except to the Republican Party. Gov. Foraker has carried on his administration with an eye to the honor of the State and the welfare of the people; and he is the leader of the rank and file and the active young Republicans of the State, and enjoys their confidence, whether the played-out bosses of other days like it or not.

After saying that it had been difficult to find out why I was so assailed, the editor proceeded:

> . . . But now we have some exact charges, with specifications as to time and place. They are made by Gen. Grosvenor, whose facility to get himself interviewed when his spleen against Foraker shows signs of movement, is somewhat remarkable. In his last interview the ubiquitous General charges:
>
> 1st. That Foraker produced disaffection among the ancient mugwumps at the Chicago Convention, when he offered as one reason why Sherman should be nominated that, "he (Sherman) had always been a Republican."
>
> 2nd. That Foraker, at the Lincoln banquet, addressing Gov. Alger, who was a guest, declared that "it was due to him (Alger) that Michigan was carried by the Republicans."
>
> Now this is the fullness of Grosvenor's indictment, and it is about on a par with all the slush that has been scraped up against Foraker's door. Possibly the reader may not see behind it the suspicion

and assumption that make the real offense. It is that, in saying Sherman was always a Republican was a hit at New York's candidate, who had voted for Greeley, and thus hurt Sherman in New York; and in complimenting Alger, at the Lincoln banquet, he had slurred Sherman, because they were opponents for the nomination at Chicago.

Did anybody ever see such a despicably absurd and idiotic mess as this? And yet if Foraker or his friends, who are legion, hit back at the purveyors of it, there is a great blubbering in two or three parts of the State.

Mr. Hanna's letter to me of March 27th, already quoted, shows what was the matter with New York; and his intemperate reference to the men mentioned in that letter as "this gang," publicly and still more offensively repeated over and over again at Chicago, shows why that delegation could not be brought to Mr. Sherman's support.

The Bellefontaine *Republican* said:

. . . . . .

Shall Foraker be relegated to the rear in disgrace? What say the Republicans of Ohio? The suggestion of such a thing will raise a storm of indignation that will sweep him higher on the wave of popular favor than he has ever gone before. There is no man, not even Sherman, who is more popular with the Republicans of Ohio than Governor Foraker. His brilliant leadership, his magnetism, his candor, his courage, his eloquence, his magnificent campaigns, his successful administration of the State's affairs, have won him a warmer regard in the hearts of the people than that of any other leader in the State. Shall the people forego their choice because malcontents and envious rivals threaten his political assassination? That is not according to the temper of the American people, and they will crush out of political life any cutthroats who assume that role.

There has been no effort that we know of to create any sentiment in favor of renominating Governor Foraker; but there has been latterly, a turning toward him of Republicans from all parts of the State, without concert of action or any suggestion, but the exigencies of the situation.

. . . . . .

If the majority of the Republicans of the State decide that Foraker is the leader that we want in the coming campaign; that he is the man who can arouse the masses and enthuse the boys, and call out the vote of the State, why should their judgment not be respected? A minority cannot nominate him, a majority will not, unless a majority want him. Should the majority or the minority rule the party?

. . . . . .

The question arises: Who shall rule the party, the people or a few political assassins? A party that cannot throttle such assassins does

not deserve to live, and a party that would allow such assassins to dictate to it should meet with instant political death.

What is the matter with Foraker that there is such opposition to him among a few? The question is easily answered. He is getting to be too big a man. He may be U. S. Senator. He may be President. He is getting in their way. They had ambitions, and thought they stood next to Sherman in popular favor. And now they see Foraker standing side by side with Sherman in popular favor, and though they have beeen honored with public favor and office, yet "all this availeth them naught," so long as they see this Foraker sitting in the high places of honor and preferment.

This is all of it.

The Circleville *Union Herald* said:

Richard Smith, of the Toledo *Commercial,* is trying to read Foraker and his friends out of the party. As a boss, Brother Smith is a fraud. Who is he that he shall proclaim who shall and who shall not have honors in the Republican Party? Better leave that to the State Convention. Meanwhile let us have peace. Don't read anybody out of the párty, but encourage some deluded, but penitent, Democrats to come in.

The Bucyrus *Journal* said:

If Mr. Smith with his enlarged experience is at the head of a combination to force Governor Foraker to accept a nomination for a third time, he has taken a very shrewd and effectual way to do it. There is no man in Ohio who occupies so large a place in so many Republican hearts as Governor Foraker. He has literally captured the Republicans of the State, and the captives have no idea of mourning over their captivity.

If it were left to the Republicans of Ohio in their primary assemblages whom they would *prefer* for Governor, by an almost unanimous acclaim the choice would be Foraker. . . .

If, after such an attack, the friends of Mr. Foraker feel that their vindication demands his renomination, it is difficult to anticipate how he can refuse his consent, little as he may desire it.

Mr. Smith in effect says there are traitors in the Republican Party who will defeat it if a vast majority of the party do not allow their favorite to be assailed without any attempt at vindication. It is not in the nature of American manhood to quietly bear this. Before that unfortunate editorial was written no one was thinking of Governor Foraker for a third term; but now the question is how, in the presence of such a direct assault, can the Governor escape being compelled to be Governor for two more years, for when he is nominated he will be elected; for then woe to the men, however exalted, who may have conspired to attempt to defeat him.

The Dayton *Journal* responded to Mr. Smith's attack in its issue of February 18th with an unfurled flag at the head of its leading editorial, nominating me as a candidate for re-election as Governor, in the course of which it said:

The gallant Republican Party is challenged to do it by a mischievous faction of mossbacks, who are hostile to the introduction of new and vigorous leaders in the party. The Republicans of Ohio know and appreciate Governor Foraker's pure and elevated character, his splendid leadership, and his unquestioned abilities as the chief executive of the State. We are told by the Toledo *Commercial* that Foraker and his friends are to be kicked out of the party. Now let us see if the vigorous and victorious Republicans will submit to such an insolent challenge. Let's have the convention at Toledo, too, where Mr. Smith is editing his paper, and see who is boss of the grand old party. Let us see who of the old leaders who have been made great by the party will rally at the State Convention to read the magnetic Foraker and his army of friends out of the party which he has so gloriously led to victory. Rally your malcontents, Brother Richard Smith, and see what a royal Republican State Convention will do with them.

The *Journal* is for Joseph Benson Foraker for Governor, against the field, if he will consent.

The following day the Dayton *Journal* said editorially:

To correct any possible misapprehension or misunderstanding, it seems proper to say that the announcement in yesterday's *Journal* of Governor Foraker for renomination for Governor was done without consultation with any one. There was an issue to be met and it seemed proper to meet an arrogant assumption with a spirited defiance. Editor Richard Smith, of the Toledo *Commercial,* formerly of the Cincinnati *Gazette,* and now also of the *Commercial Gazette,* and a man of decided standing, insolently assumed in an editorial in the Toledo *Commercial* of the 15th inst., that Governor Foraker, the recognized and elected leader of the grand army of Republicans of Ohio, and his friends shall "stand aside" and let a faction opposed to them dominate the party by sacrificing him and his friends to them. . . .

We thought it proper to accept the challenge in behalf of the royal host of young and stalwart Republicans of Ohio who do the campaign work, and thus the matter stands. We have no information from Governor Foraker, or from anybody who has authority to speak for him, whether the *Journal's* announcement will be agreeable to him or not, but we are confident that it will prove acceptable to the "vim, vigor and victory" majority of the party. . . . The Republican Party, which has been led to brilliant victories by a leader so pure, upright, able and splendid in all his developments, will not idly stand by and see him and his friends sacrificed to anybody's envy, jealousy, personal or political spleen.

The Toledo *Blade*, the Cleveland *Leader*, the *Ohio State Journal*, and almost every leading newspaper in the State followed the lead thus taken by the Dayton *Journal* to the full extent of warmly approving the sentiments expressed, and most of them joined in the demand for my renomination, although a very few questioned the wisdom of that proposition.

Quickly the political pot was boiling. All the papers in the State were discussing the subject pro and con. So many untruthful things were said about the Chicago Convention in the papers that were hostile to me, and among others in the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, that I took occasion to write an open letter to Mr. Halstead, of which the following is a copy:

M. Halstead, Esq., Columbus, February 26, 1889.
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—I have just read your editorial in today's *Commercial Gazette*, also the Eckels letter. I do not see any particular point to the latter. I might say with respect to it, however, that I never had any formal interview with anybody at Chicago. I talked freely with all who came to my room or addressed me elsewhere. I had no secrets about the matter to which it relates to keep from anybody at any time. Mr. Eckels' interview, in so far as he had one, was written by him after he had talked with me, but it was in his language and not mine. I never saw it until after it appeared in the newspapers. He simply ran together the results of a conversation, most of which was in response to interrogatories addressed to me by him. If these interrogatories had been reported, it would at least appear that I was not forward in making statements to the interviewer, as you may imagine I would not be with a gentleman I had never before seen or heard of. With that explanation I have no objections to the interview and never made any. In other words, I objected to it only as inaccurate, but the statement that I denied it is not true. I never referred to it, and, in fact, never thought of it from that moment until now, when it has been reproduced. What I referred to in my Springfield speech was the general drift of many matters appearing at that time in the newspapers.

With these explanations made, let me add that I had but little hope for the nomination of Mr. Sherman at any time after the first ballot was taken. I was led, by the statements of Mr. Sherman, Mr. Hanna and others, to expect a much larger vote. The disappointment shook my faith considerably, but what was more unfavorable to his chances, in my judgment, than simply the number of his votes, was the fact that he had no support whatever outside of the South, except

only Ohio, a part of Pennsylvania and a few votes in New England. Not a solitary vote from any doubtful State. Moreover, it was well known that there was no disposition on the part of the delegates from the other Northern States to come to us. Notwithstanding this, I kept my fears as to the ultimate result to myself and encouraged every one, as well as I could, to hope for success until after we adjourned Saturday morning, the 23rd. You will remember we recessed at that time until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. During that recess there came the rumor sweeping through the corridors of the hotels that Mr. Blaine's name would be formally placed before the Convention when we reassembled at 4 o'clock.

You will remember what intense excitement this occasioned. I first learned of it by Ohio delegates coming to me at my room to tell me of it, and to insist that in such an event Mr. Blaine would be nominated and they would want to vote for him. To every one who so came I made an appeal to stand firmly by Mr. Sherman until after a break should come or the character of it might be developed, arguing that it might fail even after it came; that at any rate we would know by the time Ohio was reached whether or not it would be sufficient to defeat Mr. Sherman and nominate Mr. Blaine, saying to them, as an inducement for them to act upon this suggestion, that if a break did come, and it should be manifest by the time Ohio was reached that Mr. Sherman could not be nominated and that Mr. Blaine would be, I would, in such event, not object to their voting for Mr. Blaine, but that, on the contrary, I, too, would vote for him and would insist that the delegation should do so as a whole, for the simple reason, as I then expressed it, that if Mr. Blaine was to be our candidate, we owed it to him and to the party, in view of the attitude he had assumed with respect to the nomination, to nominate him with the utmost zeal and unanimity we might be able to command. This proposition satisfied our restless delegates, and it appeared to be the only one that would satisfy them.

In the meanwhile 4 o'clock had come, and we reconvened at the hall. I felt greatly troubled about the situation. Seeing you upon the reporters' platform I went to you and told you of the situation in our delegation, just as I have here detailed it, and told you what I had proposed, and you cordially and heartily agreed with me and commended my course, telling me that in your judgment it was idle to think longer of nominating Mr. Sherman. The emergency which we all thought was upon us was escaped by the motion to adjourn prevailing before the ballot was taken. The adjournment was until Monday morning. Our delegation were very much excited, and many of them demanded that a meeting be at once held to determine what course we should pursue. It was my duty under such circumstances to call such a meeting. When we were assembled I, as chairman, took the floor and stated that before anyone said anything at all I wanted to say to the delegates that the danger which threatened while at the convention hall had at least temporarily passed away; that the situation might be changed by Monday morning; that I thought it would be the wisest thing for us to adjourn until Monday morning at 9 o'clock without any discussion what-

ever, expressing the hope that when we assembled Monday morning the skies might be brighter, and we might see our way clear to remain a united delegation. This met the approbation of all and an adjournment until Monday morning at 9 o'clock was immediately had. When we met Monday morning I again said, in calling the delegates to order, that the danger that threatened to break us up had passed away; that Mr. Blaine's name would not, as I understood, be presented to the Convention, and that we had encouraging reports of a disposition to turn toward us in other States, and in view of all this I appealed to them to allow me to continue casting the vote solidly for Mr. Sherman. This they agreed to and we repaired to the Convention and continued so to cast the vote until Mr. Luckey demanded the privilege of voting for General Harrison.

All Saturday evening, after the 4 o'clock adjournment, I was without a particle of hope for the nomination of Mr. Sherman. So, too, I think, was almost every one else. I do not remember to have talked with any one either in our delegation or outside of it, who seemed to have any idea that Mr. Sherman's nomination was a possibility.

It was at this time that Mr. Eckels called upon me, as did Mr. Mussey and others. I had no hesitation in expressing to them what I have here said about the situation. It never occurred to me that any one, under such circumstances, could expect us to do anything else than the next best thing, whatever that, in our judgment, might be. Moreover, every one seemed to approve, without exception, so far as I can recall, what I have suggested here as the course we should take; and I was not aware until the convention was over that any one was even criticising what had been done, or what we had proposed to do. On the contrary, I thought everybody was commending us for the pertinacity with which we had clung, under such circumstances, as a united delegation, to our candidate.

I need not remind you that before I thought of such a thing as consenting to a break in any event in our delegation, you had been telegraphing Mr. Sherman, as others were telegraphing him, that his chances were practically gone and that the probabilities were that McKinley or Blaine would be nominated. During the Saturday morning session, when I had no thought of Mr. Blaine coming before the Convention, you sent the following telegrams, which show this conclusively:

June 23.—"McKinley's speech was very strong. He made it on the vote of a Connecticut delegate. You are losing on this ballot in the South."

June 23.—"In my judgment the question is coming on next ballot between Blaine and McKinley. I make no comment and want no personal reply, but it is due you that I tell you the hour is critical."

June 23.—"You lost eleven votes this ballot. This is a slow, bleeding process, and there is a shake in Pennsylvania."

June 23.—"I think after the second ballot we shall adjourn until 7 o'clock. Ohio and Pennsylvania will stick this ballot. The second of today."

June 23.—"The convention is now on point of adjourning until 4 o'clock, under circumstances such that your friends will need to hear from you."

I mention this only to show, what I am sure you will accord, that I was among the last of those who at any time consented to a break in our delegation, and that when I did consent it was under such circumstances as made it a necessity as well as, in my judgment, the wisest policy. You will also agree with me that when on Sunday hopes for Mr. Sherman were revived, I was among the first to catch the inspiration, and that it was I who went from man to man in our delegation and rallied them again to his cause, something I could not have done had I obstinately differed from them on Saturday. If you do not know this, you can learn it from each and every one of the disaffected delegates.

This is a plain statement of the whole matter, except only that I have not gone into many of the details of proof to which I might easily resort, and would, only by doing so this communication would be unduly lengthened.

Regarding all this matter Mr. Sherman was fully advised, as I assume from a telegram of which the following, in so far as it relates to this matter, is a copy:

"I appreciate your position. Think it best for all for Ohio to stand united. Have declined request of McKinley's friends. There should be a test vote on Blaine before I withdraw. His nomination should be assured before Ohio breaks. Will you accept nomination as his vice?

"JOHN SHERMAN."

My position, not only throughout the whole Chicago Convention, but all the way from the Toledo Convention until the end of the Chicago Convention was expressed precisely by the answer which I made to that telegram, a copy of which is as follows:

"I have refused to allow my name to be mentioned by anybody for anything, and do not think it will be mentioned in the Convention; but, if it should be, it will be without my consent or approval, and if I should be nominated for either place, it will be declined unless you should request me to accept. J. B. FORAKER."

After Harrison had been nominated, Mr. Sherman telegraphed as follows:

"My hearty thanks to the Ohio delegation. We have preserved our honor, and though beaten are not disheartened. JOHN SHERMAN."

No honorable man acquainted with the facts can entertain a different opinion from that expressed by Mr. Sherman.

Very truly, etc.,
J. B. FORAKER.

This letter attracted nation-wide attention. Long editorials were published, not only in all Ohio papers, but also

in the leading Republican newspapers of the country, practically all of them friendly.

Democratic newspapers also published extended notices of it and most of them fair and some of them very friendly. Among the latter class was the following published in the Brooklyn *Eagle*.

I did not know, and never have personally known, the editor of that paper, and did not know why, and never have known why, he should have taken the trouble to so thoroughly and in such a friendly way review what I had said and set forth, but I do know that all he said is stated with the accuracy of a truthful and unbiased writer of history.

TRYING TO FRET FORAKER.

The adversaries of Governor Foraker are making little progress in their efforts to convict him of treachery to John Sherman at the Chicago Convention. Mr. John C. Eckels returns to the attack without throwing new light on the subject and Deacon Richard Smith, relic of the paleozoic age in politics, reiterates his criticisms of the Ohio Executive. What appears most prominently in the treatment of the dispute by the press is the disposition to find Foraker guilty out of hand, without regard to proof manifested by journals inimical to his leadership and unfriendly to his prospects. One influential paper, for example, is apparently inclined to condemn him on the ground that he is "a showy and ambitious politician," rather than because his infidelity to the Ohio candidate has been demonstrated by competent testimony. That he might be "showy and ambitious," and at the same time faithful to his obligations, is a possibility that his critics are not willing to concede. But if the Governor thinks they are either desirous of doing him justice or intent on making trustworthy history he should hasten to undeceive himself. They are simply pursuing a nagging policy with a view to breaking him down as a political quantity.

For Governor Foraker or any other supporter of Sherman to have denied the possibility of the Senator's defeat on the afternoon of June 23 would have been the height of childishness. The plain truth was that his rejection was assured long before the balloting began. For the fidelity of Foraker, McKinley, Hanna and the other Sherman leaders in the Ohio delegation and the firm stand assumed in his behalf by Quay and the Pennsylvanians, he could not have rallied a corporal's guard. At heart his adherents were appalled by the feeble showing made, not only in the balloting, but in the preliminary discussion. As Governor Foraker says in his letter to Mr. Halstead, Sherman did not have a solitary vote from any doubtful State. New York, having withdrawn Depew, had committed itself to Harrison. The great Republican constituencies of the Northwest turned a cold shoulder on the Ohio

candidate. The Pacific coast was a unit against him. Alger's inroads on the Sherman strength in the South were visible from the moment the delegations arrived. Mr. Halstead was not far astray when he described the gradual withdrawal of support from Sherman as "a slow bleeding process." The hopelessness of the struggle was recognized in his own camp. That, in face of the shrinkage of his vote and the emphatic expressions of hostility to his candidature expressed on every hand, the Ohio men stood substantially solid to the end, was highly creditable to their good faith. Major McKinley contributed largely to this result by his magnanimous action in refusing to accept votes cast for him. But he was not more resolute in his attitude than his colleague, the Governor of Ohio, who notified Sherman that he would decline any nomination tendered him unless Sherman requested his acceptance.

What defeated Sherman was not treachery on Foraker's part, but a widespread indisposition in Republicanism to recognize the Senator's claims to availability. Mr. Sherman's course as Secretary of the Treasury had earned him the undying enmity of a powerful section of the Republican Party. Every friend of Chester A. Arthur, many friends of General Grant, the followers of Conkling and the adherents of the stalwart school generally boldly proclaimed their antagonism. The Blaine cohorts, enraged by Sherman's refusal to make way for the "Plumed Knight," were willing to utilize any weapon against him. His fatal weakness among the representatives of New York Republicanism was so clear to the Ohio leaders that they were forced to look on his aspirations with misgivings. To cap the climax of his humiliation Ohio was insecure, not by reason of the lukewarm attachments of the leaders, Foraker included, but the readiness of a considerable body of the delegates to bolt to Blaine. Foraker could no more have silenced his disaffected colleagues than he could have jammed the Sherman prescription down the throat of T. C. Platt, who declared that he would not cast his ballot for Sherman if half a dozen conventions nominated him.

At no stage was the Convention dominated by the Sherman men. At no stage were the followers of Blaine not in a majority. Mr. Blaine may not have dictated the ultimate choice of General Harrison personally, but his friends determined the selection as surely as the nomination was made. All the efforts to stem the tide by Foraker or McKinley, Hanna, Halstead or Quay were as abortive as the endeavor of the "306" to check the rising Garfield flood eight years earlier. Mr. Stephen B. Elkins, if he chose to unbosom himself, could more conclusively demonstrate the folly of pretending that Sherman's nomination was ever possible than any other gentleman. He knew that the prize would go to Blaine or Harrison previous to the first roll call.

Governor Foraker stands on firm ground in the controversy. His enemies may fret him, but they cannot play upon him. The facts are with him even if the factionalists are against him, and there can be no doubt that in the long run he will discomfit his adversaries.

In response to my letter to him Mr. Halstead published a long signed editorial in the *Commercial Gazette*, from which I quote as follows:

There has been a misunderstanding between the Governor and myself disclosed to me in his communication, and it respects what he said when he had the interview with me in the convention hall. I understood him at the time to refer to the McKinley and not to the Blaine movement, though both may have been mentioned. He certainly then said a good word for McKinley, but one would not think so as the stories ran later.

That which the Governor says now is to me in the nature of an explanation of something that struck me strangely, and has seemed out of the straight line with other events. It shows how easily misapprehensions arise, especially in the midst of shifting and confused scenes of excitement.

Behind the disturbance of good understanding between friends of the Governor and Senator Sherman, and necessary to a clear understanding of them, are two groups of facts. . . .

The first is the strength of the Blaine sentiment in Ohio, which divided the delegation in 1884, and was so great in 1888 that it would have been irresistible if Mr. Blaine had been an avowed candidate. . . .

Governor Foraker had friends, and a good many of them, who thought he was the "Young Man of Destiny," and should go to the front as a Presidential candidate and fight for it. They would have put him into the field against Sherman, Blaine, and everybody thought he had a record and qualities that would win. There were other friends of the Governor inclined to push him, who thought a Presidential candidacy on his part with Blaine and Sherman in the field would be premature.

It was the decision of the Governor not to go into the race, and he accepted the leadership of the Sherman forces in the State and the responsibility of holding the delegation at Chicago. . . .

The second and third ballots in the Convention seemed to me to announce the defeat of Sherman, as there was no show of strength for him in the Northwest or Northeast, and that in the South had been smaller than expected and was failing; and yet the forces for him were so formidable, and his presentation had been so splendid, that the field was against him.

With his delegations fading in the South, and gaining nowhere, when I was told on the highest authority that he was about to lose half the vote of Pennsylvania, I thought there was nothing more to do but see what was the next best thing to be done. The conditions did not, as I thought, permit the nomination of Mr. Blaine, but I agreed with Governor Foraker that if he was to be nominated, the bigger the boom for him the better.

Foraker was considered for the candidacy with more seriousness than the mass of people are informed. He was the man who had tackled

the President and dragged him in his fishing clothes before the country, and had telegraphed orders for an injunction to stop the return of rebel flags already boxed for shipment—the ideal candidate for a bloody-shirt campaign, and the ringing of the fire-alarm bells would not have disheartened the boys.

What I have quoted indicates the character of the discussion that was started by Mr. Smith's editorial. I might make hundreds of other quotations to show how it continued with augmenting ugliness until the Convention was held and I was renominated. So far as Mr. Richard Smith was concerned, seeing what a storm he had raised, he sought with other editorials to retract and explain, but, as usual, where there is a lack of frankness, as there was in his case, he simply made a bad matter worse.

Although there were but very few papers in the State in sympathy with Mr. Smith's position, yet there were enough to embolden those already hostile to make war against the proposition that I should be renominated, or that General Bushnell, or any other friend of mine, should be made the candidate for Governor.

Foremost among these was Senator Hanna. He was very active and very fierce in his opposition; and this continued not only until the Convention met in Columbus and I was renominated, but afterward until I was defeated. He was not only hostile to me personally but showed an angry disposition toward everybody who had supported me, especially those in Cleveland.

Hon. Myron T. Herrick wrote me June 27th, 1889, the day after I was renominated, saying, among other things: "I saw Hanna at lunch today and he did not speak. I am told that he is very bitter."

He was present at the Convention and expressed his bitterness there, and after I was nominated said to some friends who had supported me: "Now that you have nominated him let us see you elect him," thus indicating that his intention was not to abide the result of the Convention. This bitterness on his part grew out of his disappointment as to the result of the National Convention of 1888 and my dis-

agreement with him as to the purchase of tickets of Southern delegates and my refusal to accept his candidate for National Committeeman.

The Break with Hanna.

The following letters that passed between us immediately after the Chicago Convention show how for a time our friendly relations came to an end. They are as follows:

Hon. M. A. Hanna, August 4, 1888.
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—I received from Mr. J. B. Luckey a few days ago a letter making inquiry of me as to whether or not I had declined, as you claimed I had, to call a meeting of the Ohio delegation to arrange for the payment of the expenses of Ohio headquarters. I enclose to you a copy of my letter to him in answer to that inquiry. You will see that I called for particulars as to your statement. He sends me this morning your letter to him, dated July 27th, in which you say: "I did ask Governor Foraker if he would not call a meeting of the delegation to arrange for this (the payment of the expenses of the headquarters) but he declined. That is all I have to say by way of explanation."

This seems to be a part of the same kind of business that was going on before we went to Chicago, and while we were there, and to some extent since. Please allow me to say that I think you owe it to yourself to correct what you have said. Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.

Mr. Hanna's letter to Mr. Luckey, of which I enclosed a copy with my letter to him of August 4th, was as follows:

J. B. Luckey, Esq., Cleveland, Ohio, July 27, 1888.
Elmore, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—Your favor of the 18th inst. came to hand during my absence from home, and I have to acknowledge receipt of $15.00 for which I am obliged. I am not disposed to offer any excuses for being placed in a position to be criticized for trying to do what I thought was a favor by going security for a place the delegation could be comfortable. I did the same thing in 1884, and was voted a "bully boy." This time it was different. I did ask Governor Foraker if he would not call a meeting of the delegation to arrange for this, but he declined. That is all I have to say by way of explanation.

Truly yours,
M. A. Hanna.

Mr. Hanna answered my letter of August 4th from New Castle, New Hampshire, under date of August 8th. I am unable to find that letter on my files, but the nature of it is sufficiently indicated by my reply, which was as follows:

Hon. M. A. Hanna, August 16, 1888.
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th inst., written from New Castle, New Hampshire. You say, "I did ask you if you would not have a meeting of the delegation before we left and your reply was that you would not, saying to me, 'you are quartermaster and can attend to all such matters.'" I do not remember the exact language I used, but I do remember that what I said to you was that I thought it was then too late to have a meeting of the delegation, for the simple reason that some of them were already gone home and others, including myself, had to go on the trains leaving that night. You will remember, perhaps, that it was necessary for me to leave the convention hall before the balloting for Vice President was concluded. It was an impossibility to have a meeting of the delegation. There was no declining on my part or thought of doing so, to do anything that could be done in the matter. I did not remind you that you were quartermaster and you could attend to it, except by the explanation I gave you as to why I had not thought to bring the matter before the delegation. That explanation was a reminder, and I called Governor Foster's attention to it, you will remember, that I had written both you and him to know what had been done on the subject, and that you had simply answered that you were quartermaster and intended to attend to all such matters. That statement, coupled with what you had previously told me about the raising of funds by Mr. Sherman's friends for the furtherance of his candidacy, led me to suppose that it was not desired that either I or the delegation should be bothered with anything of the kind. Hence, as I said to you then and now, I did not think to bring the matter before the delegation, as under other circumstances I might have done.

I write this only that your statement may not appear to be acquiesced in by me. In your own language, "I have no desire to discuss with you anything else." There is one other matter as to which you will some day hear from when I am more able than now, if that should ever be, to do what I desire to do. Until then I have nothing more to say.

Sincerely yours,
J. B. Foraker.

The expense alluded to in these letters was only the charge for the room used as a delegation headquarters. All the delegates paid their own personal expenses.

I had no further communication with Mr. Hanna, directly or indirectly, by mail or otherwise, until 1892, when I met

him at the Minneapolis Convention. In the way and with what result will be mentioned when that point of time and events is reached in the dictation of these notes.

I mention this "unpleasantness" with freedom because the untruths that have been printed, and the truths that have been suppressed, seem to call for the facts; and because, later, I shall have the agreeable privilege of telling how these personal bickerings were largely relegated to the rear and at least fairly good relations reinstated, which continued until his death.

The Johnstown Flood.

Recurring now to the Convention, it was held June 25-26; but before that date arrived the Johnstown flood occurred—May 30-31. The disaster was so appalling that relief was naturally the first thought in every mind. I immediately sent tents and food and clothing and relief supplies of every kind—several car-loads in all—under the charge of Adjutant General Axline and a strong detachment of helpers, whom he took with him.

These reached Johnstown the following morning, in the very nick of time to give efficient aid and much-needed relief.

I did nothing more than any one in my situation should have done; but it so happened that Governor Beaver, the Governor of Pennsylvania, was absent from Pennsylvania at the time and was unable to give official succor until after Ohio was on the ground and bearing the brunt of the demands that had so suddenly and unexpectedly arisen. This fact gave emphasis to our good offices.

The promptness and good results of what Ohio thus did elicited the warmest commendations from the press of the State and other States; all classes of our citizens seemed gratified and to feel honored by what we had been able to do.

State Convention—1889.

The newspapers were still discussing this matter in a way very friendly to me when the State Convention assem-

bled. All this naturally strengthened the sentiment in favor of my renomination which my enemies had aroused.

I had hoped until the last moment that I might be able to persuade General Bushnell to reconsider and express a willingness to accept the nomination, but he remained obdurate, although the indications were all favorable to him, if he would only assent.

At no time did I speak a word to any human being that indicated a desire on my part to be a candidate again, for I had no such desire. I fully realized that in being a candidate I had everything to lose and nothing—or at least very little—to gain.

The most I said to anyone was that if the Convention, with full knowledge, should see fit to disregard my desires and to risk the dangers and ask me to make the race I would not shrink from the duty so imposed; but, at the same time, I said to all to whom I said that much that I did not desire another term even if it were assured and that I ought not to be subjected to the risk of defeat which I feared my enemies, although only a small percentage of the Republicans of the State, might accomplish.

I knew, however, that I had not given any just ground to any Republican for implacable hostility; and, least of all, to Mr. Hanna and those co-operating with him. Therefore, I had a reasonable hope all might be brought into line in time for the election. Still I knew I would, in any event, have a hard as well as doubtful battle, for I knew, as every other well-informed man did, that a political reaction had set in since the election and inauguration of Harrison, not because of any mistake or fault of his, but because of the numerous disappointments of those who had unsuccessfully sought recognition, and on other like accounts; and that quite aside from anything personal to myself it was not a good year to run. This reaction and dissatisfaction grew worse as time passed and proved in the end more general than I had imagined it would become; for that year not only Ohio but also Massachusetts and Iowa both elected Democratic Governors, and there were Democratic victories where not expected all over the country.

There were numerous avowed candidates; all of them good men; among them General Robert P. Kennedy, who was the choice of Senator Hanna; General Rufus R. Dawes, who was championed by General Grosvenor; Major Henry L. Morey, Member of Congress from the Third District; Judge Joseph W. O'Neall of Lebanon; General Asa W. Jones of Mahoning County, a member of my staff; and Hon. E. L. Lampson, a distinguished member of the Legislature, who was nominated on the ticket with me for Lieutenant Governor. All were formally placed in nomination. Finally the roll was called, with the following result (ignoring a lot of scattering votes): Kennedy received 127; Dawes 96; Jones 96; O'Neall 59; Morey 47, and Foraker, who had not been nominated at all, 207.

On the second ballot, commencing with Adams County, there was a break all along the line in my favor so that when Montgomery County was reached, only half way down the roll, the Chairman of the delegation withdrew the name of Mr. Morey and moved that I be nominated by acclamation, which motion was seconded by General Grosvenor, who at the same time withdrew the name of General Dawes. The other candidates were, one after another, quickly withdrawn and I was declared the nominee of the Convention.

The Chair appointed as a committee to wait upon me and inform me of my renomination and escort me to the Convention Hall Hon. William McKinley, General C. H. Grosvenor and Hon. George W. Gardner, Mayor of Cleveland. Thus it happened that for the fourth time in succession Major McKinley served on the Committee to notify me of my nomination and to escort me to the Convention. I am dictating from the account of the proceedings as published in the *Ohio State Journal*. It states that when shortly this Committee appeared, "The Governor was arm in arm with Major McKinley," who, finding it difficult to reach the stage, "stepped upon one of the press tables, and it went down with him, breaking the table's legs but not the Major's. Friends lent a hand and he was boosted over the footlights, when he apprised the Chair and the

Convention that, in obedience to their orders, he had the honor to present their candidate for Governor."

"An ovation awaited the Governor, who stood and looked out upon the magnificent Convention until he could be heard, when he accepted the trust" in a speech that commenced as follows:

> Once more you have seen fit to nominate me to be your candidate for Governor, and once more I stand here to accept the trust. (Applause.) That this should come to pass was not according to my wish. All my plans, purposes, arrangements and ambitions, if you please, ran in a different direction. But from the beginning of this matter I have recognized the fact, upon which I now act, that the party that has so greatly honored me in the past has a perfect right to command my services not only at any time, but in any station to which it may see fit to assign me. (Applause.) Hence it is that I am here to put aside personal desire, bow to your judgment and take up the work you have given me to do. (Applause.) I think I understand what that work is. (Applause.) At any rate I interpret your action to be a call upon me to duty—not to duty generally, but to a specific duty. I interpret it to be a call to be your candidate in this approaching contest for Governor, and for Governor alone. (Cheers and applause.)

CHAPTER XXV.

ALL LOST BUT HONOR, AND THAT HAS A CLOSE CALL.

MY nomination for the fourth time and for a third term was, in view of all the circumstances, well and enthusiastically received by the Republicans of the State and of the whole country. With the exception of Richard Smith's organ and a few others like it the Republican press of Ohio advocated my election in the most earnest and effective manner. Editorials of the most complimentary character were published in the leading journals of the great cities of other States and reproduced throughout Ohio.

Commencing a day or two after my nomination I was almost constantly traveling and speaking. It was usual to speak daily two, three and even four times. The meetings were large and the spirit manifested was of the most encouraging character. Senator Sherman, Major McKinley, Governor Foster, and the most prominent of all the leaders in the party participated in the canvass and did good work. Wherever I went, however, I heard of some defection in our ranks and of evidence of hostility within our party.

In a number of cases taken up by the State Committee and investigated it was satisfactorily established that some of the speakers, who were filling engagements made for them by the State Committee, and traveling at the expense of the Committee and nominally making Republican speeches, were not only "damning with faint praise," but in some instances surreptitiously stirring up opposition.

While all this was unsatisfactory, yet in every instance where we learned of such practices, we also had the satisfaction of learning that the Republicans of the localities in which such work was attempted were aware of what was going on and were incensed and spurred thereby to greater activity and more determination to get out the full Repub-

lican vote and win a victory, than would otherwise have been true. As the campaign progressed this feeling of resentment and determination to succeed grew constantly stronger.

As a result my meetings continually grew larger and more responsive and the demands for speeches became more and more numerous until, as a result, I suddenly found that I had overtaxed my strength and made myself too ill to continue the canvass and, accordingly, October 19th, I yielded to the insistent advice of my physicians, cancelled my engagements for ten days ahead, repaired to my residence in Columbus, took to my bed and remained there until a few days prior to the election when, although not fully recuperated, I resumed the canvass, speaking at Dayton, Cincinnati and Lebanon.

Until interrupted by my illness I was steadily gaining and the indications of final success were of the most encouraging and satisfactory character.

The following letter from Judge Taft is but one of hundreds of such that I was receiving:

August 31, 1889.

My Dear Governor:—I write to congratulate you on your election. The Lord has delivered your enemy into your hands. The Democrats have succeeded in making certain what was not very doubtful before. If the people of Ohio, in the face of the brazen and unblushing frauds, election, senatorial and otherwise, not five years old, of which the controlling element of the Democratic Party were guilty, can restore that element to power now, I shall lose faith in popular government. The campaign will probably be as unpleasant for you personally as the Democrats can make it, but this will only have the effect of making the triumph when it comes partake more of a personal character. The disaster to this state and county if the "Foraker" boards are abolished can hardly be overestimated, and with my intimate knowledge of what the Democratic Party leaders of the "Kid stripe" are capable of, I am deeply interested in the success of the fight you are making.

I have, in addition, of course, a sincere and grateful interest in seeing you win a fight where the risk is great, but the ultimate stake is very large.

Again congratulating you on the fact that the "Campbells came" to Dayton, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Wm. H. Taft.

Hon. J. B. Foraker,
Governor of Ohio.

P. S. In the mass of your correspondence I do not wish you to trouble yourself with an answer to this letter, which, as Halstead would say, is "highly unimportant."

A fair example of my own experience and observations are given by Governor Foster as his own, in the following letter:

PORTSMOUTH, OHIO, October 20, 1889.

My Dear Governor:—I see by the papers that you are sick and hear today that you are despondent over the prospects of the election. (*In that respect he had been misinformed.*) I was fearful of the former and hope you may soon recover, as I think you will. "I have been there," but never worked so hard as you have. I think I know the feeling in at least thirty counties where I have been. With the exception of Highland you will get the party vote. There I learned that the "White Cap" matter will lose you votes. (*The White Cap matter was the suppression of lawless outbreaks patterned after the practices of the Ku Klux Klan, but only a few people were involved and there could not have been many votes lost on that account.*)

In Clermont I learn you will run ahead of your ticket, and here you will poll the full party vote, and I think this county (Scioto) will do well. I met today one of the gentlemen who predict your defeat. It is based upon the assertions of Beatty—that he has an organization embracing seventy counties, and that you will be cut in each of them from 100 to 5,000 votes. I do not believe he has such an organization. I do not see how he could get it if it is made up of Republicans. I was in Cincinnati this week. Every man you meet differs as to opinion of result.

I met there Democrats who will vote for you and they said there are many such Democrats. The immense meetings we are holding there mean much. I do not take the gloomy view of the outlook in Cincinnati. I believe we will win *all along the line.*

CHAS. FOSTER.

I quote this letter because it has a little of almost everything in it pertaining to the campaign. There were, as he reports, Democrats in Cincinnati who were proposing to vote for me, who did vote for me, and a great many other Democrats all over the State who were proposing to do and did do the same thing.

I had, therefore, as an offset to the defection represented by Hanna, Beatty and others, an unusual spirit and determination on the part of the Republicans who were loyally supporting me, and at least a partial support from Democrats as a substitute for Republican losses.

I thought then, and have always since thought, I would have been re-elected by a decisive majority had it not been for two things that occurred during the campaign, both of which were unforeseen at the time when I was nominated. These were

The Ballot Box Forgery
and
The Saloon-Keepers' Rebellion.

The morning after I was nominated there were many callers at the Governor's office to congratulate me; among them Lewis M. Hadden, a Cincinnati lawyer, who had been for some years connected with the law office of T. C. Campbell, at that time a prominent criminal lawyer of Cincinnati. Mr. Hadden was at that time assistant City Solicitor and President of the Cincinnati Board of Education. Later he was Chairman of the Republican Campaign Committee of Hamilton County. He was a man with whom I had never had any intimate relations, but I had known him, as I knew hundreds of others, whom I casually met as I went and came on my "lawful occasions." I had no reason to distrust the truthfulness of anything he might say to me on any subject, but, on the contrary, as the positions he held indicated, there was every reason to believe him to be truthful and reliable.

At that time the Democratic Convention had not yet been held. It had been called to meet at Dayton, Ohio, August 27th and 28th.

In the short conversation I had with Mr. Hadden he took occasion to tell me that I would have a hard, and he feared, a doubtful fight. When I asked him why he felt that way he told me he thought from all he had heard that the Honorable James E. Campbell, of Hamilton, Ohio, would be nominated by the Democratic Convention and that if he should be the Democratic candidate a number of leading Republicans would support him secretly, if not openly.

In answer to my question as to why he had such an opinion he proceeded to tell me that a man by the name of Richard G. Wood, a partner in the Hall & Wood Company, of Cincinnati, manufacturers, was the inventor of a patented ballot box and that Governor Campbell, as Congressman from the Third District, had introduced a bill requiring the use of this ballot box at all Federal elections; that

the effect of the bill would be to give Wood a monopoly and that those sharing in the financial results would make large sums of money and that he had seen a contract exhibited in T. C. Campbell's office, signed by Campbell, McKinley and a number of others, whose names he did not remember, showing that they were all interested in that proposed legislation and the exploitations of that ballot box.

This naturally excited further inquiry, in answer to which he told me that he thought Wood might be able and willing to furnish me with a copy of the contract showing these signatures, stating as a reason that on account of some disagreement that had arisen Wood regarded himself as mistreated and had become unfriendly to them. He said he would ascertain whether or not the paper could be secured and if he could get a copy of it. My conversation with him was necessarily brief.

He went his way and I went mine until sometime later I received a communication from Wood, whom I had seen but with whom I had no acquaintance, asking me to recommend him to Mayor Mosby for appointment as Smoke Inspector.

In due time a date was fixed when he had an interview with me in which he confirmed all that Hadden had told me and said he could and would be glad to furnish to me a copy of the paper desired.

In the meanwhile I had made an investigation as to his qualifications for the office he sought, and had been informed by those who were competent judges and who were well acquainted with him that he was a worthy and deserving man of good qualifications, with a genius for invention and that he would make an excellent Smoke Inspector.

Thinking if there was such a paper it was my duty as a candidate to secure it and fully inform myself with respect to it, I told him that I would recommend him to the Mayor but that I would not undertake to secure him the appointment; that I would not assume any responsibility with respect thereto; that I could only give him the recommendation for whatever it might be worth; and that, not until he had shown me the paper which he said he had a right,

as a party in interest, to get possession of and show me or anybody else to whom he might desire to show it.

He afterwards wrote me that he found, on his return to Cincinnati, that the paper was not in the possession of the party he supposed had it, but that it was in Washington and he would have to go there to get it. After three or four weeks' delay, for all of which he wrote me explanations, he came to Columbus and delivered to me on the 28th day of September what purported to be a subscription paper which made reference on its face to "Contract No. 1000." The paper delivered to me was unintelligible on its face, but did give information that contract No. 1000 would give a full explanation with respect to the ballot box and all other details involved.

A number of signatures were attached to the paper, among them those of Governor Campbell, Major McKinley, Major Butterworth and Senator Sherman, all of our State.

That same evening I addressed a mass meeting at Cincinnati, in which, discussing the subject of "Trusts," I called attention to the bill that had been introduced in Congress by Governor Campbell, and read parts of it. I had one of the Wood ballot boxes present on the platform and pointed out that the bill, although not mentioning this particular ballot box by name, yet described it exactly and that it was impossible for any other box to be used if the bill should become a law.

My purpose in doing this was to show that my anti-trust antagonist who was giving special prominence to the subject was the author of a measure calculated to create a trust of a most odious character; but I did not intimate that anyone, either the author of the bill, or anybody else in Congress, was pecuniarily, or otherwise, improperly interested in the proposed legislation.

When I saw the paper I was surprised to see on it some of the names that appeared there, especially the name of Sherman, who, until then, had not been mentioned, but I was familiar with his signature, and also with the signatures of McKinley, Butterworth and some of the others who

had apparently signed it, and it seemed to me there could not be any doubt whatever that they were genuine signatures, as in fact they were, although not attached by them to that paper. I consulted a gentleman familiar with Governor Campbell's signature and was told by him that it was undoubtedly genuine. The apparent genuineness of these signatures, coupled with what had been told me, for the fabrication of which, on the part of Mr. Hadden, at least, there could not be any explanation or excuse, caused me to accept the paper as genuine without any distrust whatever. I showed it to two or three other gentlemen and they were all unhesitatingly of the opinion that the signatures were genuine.

I recognized, however, the moment I saw the paper that it would be impossible for me to make any use of it in the campaign. To do so would practically disrupt the party. I, therefore, at once determined to hold it in abeyance until after the election.

Among others I talked with about it was Murat Halstead. I talked with him about it because I chanced to meet him and because he was the especial friend and champion of Senator Sherman; had been such for years and especially in 1888, and was still; and because he was associated with Mr. Richard Smith in the publication of the *Commercial Gazette*, and shared with him, in some degree at least, the feeling expressed by him in his hostile editorials. I told him in full detail how the paper had come into my possession. He was quite as familiar with the signatures mentioned as I was. He at once pronounced them genuine and agreed with me that I could not make any use of the paper. We then discussed what course I should pursue with respect to it, concluding that I should turn it over to him as a custodian to hold it until after the election, when we would have time to make investigation and establish the facts and take such further steps as the truth and our duty to the public and good government might require.

I had met Mr. Halstead on the train and accidentally. He was returning from New York and I was on my way to keep an appointment. He carried the paper with him to

Cincinnati, not to publish it, but to hold it until after the election, and I continued in my campaign. I was greatly astonished when a few days later, on the morning of the 4th of October, I saw in the *Commercial Gazette* a facsimile of the document and especially surprised to see that he had published it with only the signature of Campbell.

Until then I had not at any time spoken of such a paper, or made any charge against anybody in connection with it; and the only reference I ever did make to it was to say, after this publication, in a speech at Marietta, October 9th, in answer to something that had appeared that day in the newspapers, that I had seen the paper, that Governor Campbell had not denied his signature, and that I was of the opinion that he would not deny it.

The publication by Mr. Halstead, especially in the mutilated form in which he used it, was without my knowledge and without any consultation whatever, except only that which occurred when I delivered it to him.

Friends of Governor Campbell instituted an investigation which resulted in a confession by Wood and others associated with him that the paper was a forgery; that the signatures had been transferred to the paper from the official signatures of the Congressmen whose names were used as given on the franks used by them on their letters and for the distribution of public documents, and that they were, therefore, perfect imitations of genuine signatures.

October 11th—as soon as this testimony was presented to him—Mr. Halstead published over his own signature a statement that, from the evidence submitted to him, he was satisfied that the alleged signatures of Mr. Campbell were forged and fraudulent, and assumed all responsibility for the publication of the same. I was not charged with any responsibility for that paper until after the election, but the effect of the publication, the disclosure that it was a false and forged document, the retraction of it by Mr. Halstead, greatly strengthened Governor Campbell; in the sense, at least, that it excited sympathy for him and gave him a much stronger support from the Democrats than he had until that time enjoyed.

As soon as the election was over I published a full detailed statement of my connection with the paper. I would have done so the moment I learned the paper was a forgery, but Mr. Halstead objected on the ground that he had agreed with Governor Harmon, acting for Governor Campbell, that nothing further should be published until after the campaign was ended.

There was no contradiction by anybody of anything I said in my statement, or at any other time, but, naturally, Major Butterworth and others were much incensed and felt that they should be officially exonerated; accordingly they secured an investigation by a committee of the House of Representatives, before which committee I appeared, as did everybody else who was supposed to have any knowledge on the subject and testified fully and frankly as to all I knew about the matter.

A babe unborn could not have been freer than I was from intentional wrongdoing. I was simply deceived, and as a result of the publication by Mr. Halstead was made the victim of a most mortifying incident that contributed greatly to the defeat I sustained on election day.

Mr. Sherman in his "Personal Recollections," has reviewed the whole matter, quoting not only the paper and signatures, but narrating the circumstances leading up to its publication; and also quoting the findings of the Committee, according to which Mr. Halstead and I were fully exonerated from all knowledge of the forgery and the fraudulent character of the paper; their finding in this particular being as follows:

> We find that Richard G. Wood, Frank L. Milward and Frank S. Davis were the only persons directly or indirectly aiding, abetting, assisting or knowingly consenting to the preparation of said forgery with knowledge of its character.

And that Mr. Halstead and myself—

> aided in uttering said forgery, Mr. Foraker by exhibiting the paper to several persons and thereafter delivering it to Mr. Halstead, and Mr. Halstead aided in uttering said forgery by publishing the forged paper on October 4, 1889, in the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette,* but we find that neither of said parties, Foraker and Halstead, in uttering said paper, knew the same was a forgery.

Of course all whose names were attached to the paper were also fully exonerated.

Mr. Sherman, after citing these reports of the majority of the Committee, then proceeds:

William E. Mason, Chairman of the committee, added to the report quoted the following just and true statement, which relieved Foraker and Halstead from the implication stated in the report:

"If our unanimous finding is correct that Messrs. Halstead and Foraker did not know the paper was forged when they uttered it, then they were deceived by some one, for we have found it was a forgery. Being deceived, then, is their only offense.

"They each have made reputation and character equal perhaps to any of the gentlemen who were outraged by the forgery. Since they found they were deceived, they have done all in their power, as honorable men, to make amends. To ask more seems to me to be most unjust, and, believing as I do that the evidence does not warrant the censure (*about uttering and publishing the same*) indulged in by my associates on the committee in their above additional findings, I most respectfully, but most earnestly protest."

So far as I am aware Mr. Sherman never at any time criticised me in connection with the matter except to say in his "Personal Recollections:"

It has always seemed strange to me that Foraker, having in his possession a paper which implicated Butterworth, McKinley and myself, in what all men would regard as a dishonorable transaction, did not inform us and give us an opportunity to deny, affirm or explain our alleged signatures. An inquiry from him to either of the persons named would have led to an explanation at once. No doubt Foraker believed the signatures genuine, but that should not have deterred him from making the inquiry.

When Mr. Sherman made this statement he could not have had in mind that it was the testimony of both Mr. Halstead any myself that I could not and would not make any use of the paper, although deeming it genuine, until after the election, until which time Mr. Halstead should hold the same in custody as the mutual friend of all concerned, when we would take such steps as might be necessary to ascertain the truth.

No doubt if this program had been carried out the parties whose names were attached to the paper would have been consulted before any disclosures were made. In other words,

it was my purpose to do, as the testimony shows, practically what Mr. Sherman thinks I should have done.

That we were excusable for supposing the signatures to be genuine is shown by the fact that they were in fact exact imitations or reproductions of genuine signatures transcribed and appended to the false paper by a method or process of which neither of us had any knowledge.

Notwithstanding all this, and notwithstanding the fact that any sane man would know that I could not, under any circumstances, use a forged instrument without immediate disaster to myself; and that this should be sufficient confirmation of the truth of my statement, especially when supported by the undisputed testimony of Mr. Halstead, Mr. Hadden and others, all of whom were examined at length before the Committee, and all of whom confirmed me throughout, yet my enemies were "filled with rejoicing" and showed great zeal, not in undertaking to disclose the facts and establish the truth, but to convict me of conspiracy and forgery. If I had not been able to produce the letters that passed between Wood and myself I might not have escaped, but fortunately these so fully sustained me, and so confirmed my statements as to put it beyond the power of Wood, who had turned hostile, or anybody else to successfully contradict them.

There are three or four hundred pages of the report. Except only the testimony of Wood, who contradicted himself and his own letters numerous times while on the stand, and to whose statements the Committee finally found themselves unable to give any credence whatever, except only as they were confirmed by others, or had relation to facts that were undisputed, there was not a word to contradict anything that either Mr. Halstead or myself had at any time said on the subject.

General Grosvenor appeared before the Committee, claiming that he was there to represent those whose names had been forged to the document. He conducted himself like a prosecuting attorney whose main purpose was to have the committee find me guilty of the crime that had been committed, either as a principal or as an accessory with knowl-

edge. He filed a brief with the committee in which he attacked me bitterly. To this I filed a brief in answer in which I not only fully answered all he said, but also reviewed the whole case, and the testimony in particular of the General himself, who testified as a witness. It will be seen by any one taking the trouble to read the same, that instead of convicting me the General had written a letter on account of which he found difficulty in answering satisfactorily some of the questions I propounded. His attacks on me were so manifestly unjust, and so unsupported by evidence that they had no weight either with the committee or anybody else.

Inasmuch as he did no harm and afterward rendered such efficient and conspicuous service in the House of Representatives, where he served without interruption for twenty years, I found it easy in the course of time and events to rub the grievance against him off the slate of personal recollections, and resume agreeable relations with him which have ever since continued.

Years afterward, in one of his hostile outbreaks against me, Mr. Kohlsaat undertook to revive the ballot box matter, making all sorts of charges against me with respect thereto. He barely stopped short of charging me with being a principal in the forgery itself. Without any knowledge on my part that he contemplated any such thing, and without a word having ever passed between us, either directly or indirectly on the subject, Colonel James E. Neal of Hamilton, Ohio, the warm personal friend of Governor Campbell, and Chairman, as he says, of the Democratic Campaign Committee at the time when the ballot box trouble occurred, wrote me as follows:

Hon. J. B. Foraker,

Dear Senator:—As Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of Ohio, I was perfectly familiar with the ballot box business from beginning to end, and take pleasure in saying that the testimony showed that you were not implicated in the forgery, but, on the contrary, only imposed upon by it. I give you this note without solicitation, and in the interest of truth and justice.

Sincerely yours,

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 10, 1899. James E. Neal.

While entirely innocent, I was nevertheless deeply mortified and chagrined to have been so imposed upon—especially so far as Governor Campbell was concerned, since it looked like I was more willing than a candidate ever should be to believe ill of my antagonist, whom I had not known well personally prior to his nomination, but for whom I came, with better acquaintance, to have a high personal regard.

The Saloon-Keepers' Rebellion.

In 1888 the Legislature amended the Dow Law by increasing the tax to be paid by saloon-keepers. This was like "rubbing the sore when there should have been brought a plaster;" but worse than the increase of the tax in its effect upon them was a provision in this amendment by which the traffic was absolutely prohibited on Sunday. This provision had remained a dead letter until after I had been renominated, when a law and order association demanded of the municipal authorities of Cincinnati its enforcement. In response to this demand it was officially announced that the provision would be enforced. The effect of this announcement was the prompt formation of an organization named the League for the Preservation of Citizens' Rights. This organization was composed of saloon-keepers, liquor dealers and others interested in the traffic. In addition to the members of this league and those concerned in a business way there were thousands of citizens in Cincinnati who, with their families, were accustomed to spend a part of the Sabbath day in beer halls or beer gardens, listening to music, having social intercourse with friends and neighbors, and otherwise enjoying what, in their estimation, was only a harmless recreation and amusement that should be allowed to all as within the privileges of citizenship.

All these different classes opposed what they termed a Puritanical effort to deprive them of their personal liberties and compel them to forego what they regarded as legitimate pleasures.

At one of their first meetings they determined to retaliate and passed a resolution looking to the arrest of all who violated the law of the State against doing common labor on the Sabbath day; the intention being to arrest men who were delivering ice or milk, driving cabs and omnibuses, street car drivers, and everybody else who might be found on that day pursuing their ordinary employment. The following editorial from the *Times-Star* shows with what smarting sarcasm the personal liberty champions were criticised and condemned:

At Schaub's den yesterday there was a meeting of the so-called League for Preserving the Rights of Citizens. The noble object of this League is to secure immunity for dive-keepers from the penalty of their offense in trampling on the laws of the State. The Schaubites decided, it is said, to make an effort to rigidly enforce the common labor law, so that the dive-keepers may profit by the confusion which it is hoped will result from a raid on milk wagons, etc. The Schaubites, don't you know, are a remarkable class of citizens, who are willing to dally with a beer faucet on Sunday, in violation of the law, a right which must be maintained or the temple of our liberties will fall with a dull thud. Their coat of arms is a goat rampant with his front feet on the Revised Statutes. It will be interesting to note the movements of the Schaubites as they sally forth from the Vine Street den, their strength of purpose equalled only by their strength of breath.

The subject was of such inflammable character and the newspaper discussion was so caustic that matters grew rapidly worse, until finally, July 26, 1889, the *Commercial Gazette* published the following:

Between five and six hundred saloon-keepers of the city assembled at Central Turner Hall yesterday afternoon in response to a call that had been issued for a mass meeting signed by the well-known German proprietors of saloons: William Hager, Wendel Schroder, Ad Lotz, Louis Mecklenburg and Frank Reichrath. It was in name a representative meeting and the entire business was conducted in the German language. . . .

The meeting was called to order by Mr. William Hager, who said that everyone present had such a clear idea of what it had been called for that he would not waste time in any preliminaries. The Committee who signed the call were seated upon the stage, and Mr. Hager announced that they had made the following permanent organization: President, Ad Lotz; Secretary, Wendel Schroder; Treasurer, Wm. Hager.

The following resolutions were then read by the Secretary:

WHEREAS, the well-known Owen law, through which corruption and hypocrisy can sneak in everywhere, threatens to become established in Cincinnati, and

WHEREAS, no concerted action has been taken to resent the said law, which is an insult to common sense; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we, the saloon-keepers here assembled, openly oppose this law, which is unpopular and damaging to our business; and, therefore, we have decided to keep our places of business quietly open on Sunday, and all succeeding Sundays, conducting our business as on any other day, and avoiding all disturbances.

Resolved, that we condemn the side and back door business as corrupting in its tendency, and will make it our special duty to oppose it by all means.

Resolved, that each saloon-keeper who signs the resolutions of this meeting shall have our solid protection in every case of prosecution, and the expense thereof shall be defrayed by our own means.

The resolutions were adopted with a cheer. A number of papers with the following printed headlines were then circulated:

We, the undersigned saloon-keepers of the ——— Ward, pledge ourselves in our own handwriting and by our word of honor, which is equivalent to an oath, to keep open our front doors on next Sunday, and on all following Sundays, and conduct our business in the same way as on week days.

On the suggestion of the Chairman a motion was adopted that two saloon-keepers from each ward should be selected to form an Executive Committee, who should also visit all the saloon-keepers in their respective wards and to secure their influence and co-operation. It was adopted without dissent. It was as follows:

1. The utmost efforts shall be made by those pledged to keep open on Sundays to prevent the doing of business by those who keep only the side and back doors open; and every Ward shall appoint Trustees, whose duty it shall be to bring all such to the knowledge of the police.
2. Each saloon-keeper shall, as far as possible, provide himself with a bondsman; and, furthermore, the Ward Committee shall provide a certain number of bondsmen.
3. The Committee who issued the call for this meeting shall make such arrangements as shall insure Police Clerk Rehse and his assistants shall be ready at all times to make out the necessary bonds for parties who may be arrested.
4. It is understood that the committee shall employ the services of a first-class lawyer for the benefit of the association.

In due time the papers were signed and returned. The number of signers was not announced, but was supposed to be about three hundred.

We had had enough experience in Cincinnati in connection with the burning of our Court House and the mob-rule and the rioting that followed to cause me to feel that there was no safety against such dangers except by crushing such outbreaks in their incipiency. Therefore, when I read the account of the proceedings at this Central Turner Hall meeting, the resolutions they had adopted, the course of procedure they had mapped out, and not knowing exactly how prompt and firm the municipal authorities might be in dealing with such a matter, I felt it my duty, as Governor, to write the Mayor the following official letter:

STATE OF OHIO.
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR.

July 26, 1889.

THE HON. JOHN B. MOSBY, *Mayor.*

Dear Sir:—Do not tolerate any defiance of law. No man is worthy to enjoy the free institutions of America who rebels against a duly enacted statute and defies the authorities charged with its enforcement. Smite every manifestation of such a spirit with a swift and heavy hand. I do not make these suggestions from fear you need them, but only that you may have any assurance they may afford you in the discharge of the duty to which you are called by the action of the Turner Hall meeting of yesterday, the proceedings of which I have just read in the papers.

Very truly yours,
J. B. FORAKER.

I remarked to those about me, when I wrote and sent it, that I feared it might have a disastrous effect, so far as I was concerned, upon the results of the election, but that my sense of duty was so clear and strong that I could not hesitate, no matter what the consequences might be.

The effect of this letter was to change almost instantly the character of the campaign. Thousands of Republicans, especially in Cincinnati, forgot about the tariff, the third term idea and all the attacks made on my administration, and thought and talked about nothing but personal liberty on the one hand, and good morals, law and order and the upholding of stable government on the other.

The League for the Preservation of Citizens' Rights, popularly called the Personal Liberty League, immediately began a systematic organization. As indicating the character of their work the following circular was distributed by them all over the State:

THE SALOON-KEEPERS' CIRCULAR. *Gentlemen:*—The saloon-keepers' association at its last regular meeting appointed a committee to confer with the liquor dealers and brewers, and to solicit their aid in a financial way toward assisting in the election of candidates friendly to their interests. The interests of the liquor dealers, brewers and saloon-keepers are identical, and in view of the attitude of the Republican leaders and press, it is of vital importance that they should be checked in their endeavor to control the Legislature to be elected this fall.

It is conceded upon all sides that they are committed to a high license, and it is further predicted, that if successful, they will place such restriction upon the saloon business by excise boards, that it will result in partial prohibition. It is needless to argue the question. No better evidence is needed than to calmly study the legislation of the past. No hope can be entertained that any consideration will be shown us by a Republican Legislature.

What other course then is left us except to aid those who can be depended upon to aid us? Not only in our own county should we labor most zealously, but to counties of the State where the political parties are nearly equally divided, our closest attention should be given. For this work funds are absolutely necessary, and our own personal efforts to help the cause, hence our appeal.

The saloon-keepers' association is willing to contribute its fair share and the liquor dealers and brewers certainly should not hesitate to contribute theirs. The work is formidable. The expense proportionately large. Are you ready to aid the cause, or will you hesitate until too late? Remember it is better to invest two per cent now than fifty per cent after the battle is lost. Let us hear from you. Let us know what your disposition is. We do not care to present ourselves as seeking alms. We only ask you to look seriously upon the matter, to consult your own interests and advise us as to whether you are willing to engage in the fight. Will you let us know your intentions and the amount of your contribution, as too much valuable time has been lost? We will consider those who respond to our call for financial aid in harmony with us, and those who do not, against us and our interests, and as such we will always remember them.

It is a matter of absolute necessity to answer this immediately.

We remain, respectfully,

WM. GERDES,
H. SCHAEFER,
HENRY ZURLAGE,
The Finance Committee.

Address William Gerdes, 207-209 West Fifth Street. Strictly confidential.

On the other hand I was not without defenders and champions. The following editorials from the leading papers of the State and country indicated this better than I can describe it.

The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* said:

We doubt if any man in public life has made a bolder avowal of faith under circumstances so critical as those in which Governor Foraker is placed. He is a candidate for re-election, and the votes of several thousand liquor dealers are worth seeking after, but it matters not to the courageous Governor; the triumph of law is the first thing that a patriot seeks after, the triumph of his party the second, his own advancement the last. Governor Foraker never stood so well with the great body of his countrymen as since the publication of his letter to the Mayor of Cincinnati.

I quote further from the daily press as follows:

Governor Foraker's letter to Mayor Mosby urging him to enforce the law at whatever cost, was not only wise and brave; it was more than that. It was effective. It quelled the proposed insurrection against State authority as effectually as if he had ordered the whole State militia to Cincinnati to sustain the local authorities. It was a notice to the rebellious saloon-keepers that behind the Mayor and police was the whole power of a mighty Commonwealth, wielded by an executive who feels it his duty to enforce, so far as called upon, every law of the State, and who would crush any anarchistic uprising with a firm and heavy hand. In view of Governor Foraker's letter, and of the outspoken public approbation of his course, the saloon-keepers involved in the conspiracy, more than a thousand in all, held another meeting at which the former resolutions were reconsidered and rejected as "unwise and injudicious," and new resolutions were adopted counseling obedience to the law.

Again, quoting from the daily press:

Governor Foraker has been liberally decorated with Democratic and Mugwump abuse, but somehow he seems to be constantly coming to the front, with growing popularity in his own State, and with increasing strength in the confidence of Republicans everywhere. He meets every issue and emergency so promptly and plumply and his official and unofficial utterances are so manly and full of pluck and decision that he baffles all the plots and evil expectations of his enemies by force of a personality that is unique in our politics.

Similar quotations might be made from the leading Republican newspapers of the State and Nation almost without end.

While I was thus defended and upheld by the Republican newspapers and Republicans were thus being aroused, as never before in a State campaign, the most effective organization the Democratic party ever made in our State since the days of the civil war was being perfected by the money that was raised, in response to the circular above mentioned, and by other means and from other sources than those to which the circular was directed. Evidences of this organization and work correspondingly aroused Republicans. Hence it was that, when I left my sick bed and resumed the canvass I found still larger meetings and greater enthusiasm than before my illness interrupted my personal effort. A sample of all these, except the greater numbers and correspondingly greater enthusiasm manifested, was the closing meeting, held in the new Armory Hall at Cincinnati on the evening of November 2nd. The following brief quotation from the extended notice of this meeting, given in the *Commercial Gazette*, is a good description of what was the greatest political meeting ever held in Hamilton County, either before that time or since:

GLORIOUS CLOSE OF A VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN.
EIGHTEEN THOUSAND WITHIN THE ARMORY WALLS WHILE TEN THOUSAND MORE STAND OUTSIDE.
THE LAST GRAND RALLY OF THE GREAT REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN, WHICH IS TO CLOSE ON TUESDAY.

. . . . . .

Never before in the history of Cincinnati was such a crowd gathered together as that which greeted Governor Foraker last night at the beautiful new Armory, on Freeman Avenue. It is almost an impossibility to give an adequate idea of the immensity of the great hall, but when it is stated that there were ten thousand chairs within its walls last night and that there was standing room for nearly as many as were seated, some faint impression may be had of the size of the audience gathered to close one of the most memorable campaigns in the history of Ohio.

By six o'clock in the evening a large crowd had assembled in front of the Armory building, which rapidly increased in size until when the doors were opened fully three thousand people were in waiting. These rushed in and soon were seated, and from this time up to 8:15, when the first

of the clubs arrived at the hall, there was not a vacant seat in the vast auditorium. . . .

But of the audience. Aside from its immensity in size, it was one of the finest in personnel ever seen at a political gathering, or any other. Ladies were scattered throughout, the bright colors of their hats adding variety and beauty to the scene. For an hour and a half before the meeting was formally opened Adam Weber's orchestra furnished some excellent, selected and patriotic music, which was received with hearty applause. The first of the clubs to enter the hall was that from Madisonville. When the stirring music of its drum corps was heard at the entrance the vast throng within began to cheer and yell and for a half an hour, during which time clubs followed in close succession, the scene was one beyond the powers of description.

Judge Caldwell, Chairman of the meeting, arose, and, being received with cheers, said: "Ladies and gentlemen, the Governor of Ohio needs no introduction to a Cincinnati audience. Governor Foraker."

As Governor Foraker arose cheer upon cheer rent the air, handkerchiefs were waved in all parts of the hall.

I reviewed the campaign just closing, defended my administration from all the attacks that had been made and closed by saying:

The Republican Party stands for honesty, stands for good government, stands for law, stands for order, stands for the fair name and the credit of our great city and our great commonwealth. And I want to say here and now, that I would scorn and despise to be the Governor of this State on any other kind of a platform. (Tremendous applause.) I don't want any man to be deceived about me. While I am Governor of Ohio I will stand as the Republican Party and my duty commands me to, for order and decency and law everywhere. (Renewed applause.) And I know that the great overwhelming majority of the decent people of Cincinnati approve that kind of doctrine. (Applause and cries of, "That's right.") So far as I am concerned, there are four things I will never do. I will never turn my back on my duty as I understand it. (Applause.) I will never turn my back on the grand old Republican Party. (Cheers.) I will never turn my back on any enemy, and I will never turn my back on any friend. (Great applause.) For duty and party, and for friends against enemies, I shall forever stand.

I want now simply to thank you for this magnificent demonstration and congratulate you upon the fact that Cincinnati is abreast with the aroused and determined Republicans of the whole State of Ohio.

I thank you for your fidelity; I thank you for your enthusiasm, and I await with confidence a splendid report from Hamilton County on next Tuesday night. (Tremendous applause and cheers for Foraker.)

At the election on the following Tuesday I had a much larger vote than I had polled in either of my previous cam-

paigns, but was defeated by a plurality of 10,872 votes, while the entire ticket was elected by pluralities ranging from a few votes up to three or four thousand. I ran behind the average of the Republican candidates about 8,000 votes. These figures measure the extent of the war made upon me personally within the party; but it does not signify that had someone else been the candidate he would have been elected, because the total Republican vote was larger than it could have been if there had not been the unusual enthusiasm that was aroused. I got in all probability a larger vote than anybody else in my place would have received. It was a good year for the Democrats, who seemed to be unusually wide-awake all over the country, so much so that, as already stated (p. 396), Democratic Governors were elected in both Massachusetts and Iowa, as well as in Ohio.

The following editorial comment on the result will show that there was considerable diversity of opinion as to the causes of my defeat:

The *Commercial Gazette* said:

The Sunday closing law was the great factor. All other unfavorable influences were insignificant in comparison. Foraker's letter to the Mayor defeated him. . . . Without the Owen law element in the campaign Foraker's majority in this (Hamilton) County would have been as large as Campbell's, and he would have been elected by that alone, and both Houses of the Legislature would have been ours. The fatal stroke was not by the saloonists so much as by the liberal Germans who do not want to be harrassed on Sunday.

The Cleveland *Leader* said:

Governor Foraker has been defeated in a good cause. There were certain minor factors of opposition that contributed somewhat to the magnitude of his defeat, but these were of slight moment compared with the assaults of the liquor traffic against him. Because of his brave utterance in behalf of Sunday observance and because he appointed a police board in Cincinnati that resolutely undertook to enforce the law that a conspiracy of saloon-keepers endeavored to override, the liquor interest, not only of the State but of the Nation, combined to overthrow him. They poured out money by the barrel and whisky *ad libitum*, and in the cities of this State alone, where the traffic is most powerful, more than wiped out Governor Foraker's great majority of two years

ago. There is no need of looking any further for the cause. It is all there, and more than enough.

Governor Foraker has fallen in the front of the fight with his face to the foe. . . . The issue was forced upon him and he met it squarely. There is no recreant or coward blood in his veins.

The Toledo *Journal* said:

That Governor Foraker was defeated by the combined liquor interests of Ohio is beyond a doubt. . . . There were other reasons which aided in this direction, but the saloon was mainly responsible.

A few days after the election, in an interview on the subject, I said:

I think my defeat was due more than anything else to Sunday closing and to the hostility of the liquor interests, of not only the State, but the whole country. They were aroused as they have not been for years. I doubtless lost some votes from other causes but this was the chief cause of all.

My present opinion is that as usual in such cases my defeat should be attributed not to any one cause but to a number of co-operating causes.

The disaffection represented by Hanna, Beatty and others who worked with them lost me a good many votes. There is no way of estimating with any certainty just how many.

The ballot box forgery matter also did a great deal of harm. Just how much it would necessarily be mere speculation to state.

The prejudice against a third term cut some figure, but it probably lost me very few votes.

In my judgment the saloon-keepers' rebellion on account of my letter to Mayor Mosby was the most injurious of all the causes operating against me.

That almost alone was the cause of the disastrous result that overtook me in Hamilton County, not because I ran behind former votes, but because Governor Campbell ran ahead. I carried Hamilton county in 1887 by a plurality of 6,692; I lost it in 1889 by a plurality of 7,253; and yet I polled in Hamilton County 3,510 more votes in 1889 than I polled in 1887, when I carried it by 6,692.

In other words, the tremendous meeting and the great enthusiasm shown at the Armory Hall meeting and other meetings held during the campaign correctly indicated great earnestness and enthusiasm on the part of the Republicans; but at the same time the effective Democratic organization and the disaffection of the so-called "wet" Republicans on account of the Mosby letter were sufficient to overwhelm every advantage in my favor.

The following letter shows that Judge Taft took practically the same view:

HON. JOSEPH B. FORAKER, November 7, 1889.
Governor of Ohio.

My Dear Governor:—I have waited until the result was irretrievably settled against my strong hopes before writing you. Your characteristic and magnanimous telegram of congratulation to Campbell however removed all hopeful doubt. I am very, very sorry for the defeat, not because it is anything but temporary, but because of the great results which seemed immediate upon a victory. While it is of little use to speculate about causes, you can have the satisfaction of knowing that the majority against you in this county was largely due to a brave expression of opinion which was right and true and which no consideration of political preferment, however tempting, would induce you to vary or retract and that the vote in the State resulted from an adroitly excited sentiment against a third term which had no foundation in common sense and which ought to have weighed as nothing against the magnificent record of your administration of the State's affairs.

For yourself, personally, I am quite sure that the welcome which you will receive from the entire bar, Democrats and Republicans alike, and the success which awaits you on your return to the practice, will make you hesitate to say that the election of Campbell is not a good rather than an evil. I have heard many expressions of pleasure from the members of the bar without regard to party, whose opinions you value, that you will once more be among us to exercise those abilities which made your success at the bar and on the bench so rapid and so abiding.

Renewing former expressions of gratitude for what you have done for me and assuring you of my sincere hope and belief in your continued success and prosperity, I am, my dear Governor,

Very sincerely yours,
WM. H. TAFT.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A FEW MINUTES ON THE SIDE WITH MR. HAYES.

IN a book recently published, and just brought to my attention, entitled "The Life of Rutherford B. Hayes, by Charles Richard Williams," are found some quotations from a diary kept by Mr. Hayes during the latter years of his life after his retirement from the Presidency. I supposed, until I read these, that I enjoyed his esteem and good-will in a greater degree than they indicate. At least he repeatedly and voluntarily gave me evidence that I did, and I supposed he was sincere. At any rate I was surprised to find that in two or three instances he referred to me in rather severe criticism. He says, November 5, 1889:

> The election day in many States. . . . Governor Foraker leans too much towards the boss system and spoils system. He is injured greatly by this. He is brilliant, witty, eloquent and very popular with the hurrah boys, but the sober and conservative element of the party dislike his methods and would be glad to see him run behind the ticket. Some want him beaten, and votes will be lost.

The next day, November 6, 1889, he is credited with making this entry:

> The Democrats seem to have carried everything. If the reports of this afternoon are correct they have the State ticket and Legislature as well as the Governorship. It was anticipated that Foraker would be beaten, but it was hoped that the State ticket and Legislature might be saved. It is useless to spend time on causes. They are easily seen. Rutherford (*his son*) suggests one consolation for this household, "It leaves you the only Governor ever elected for a third term!"

As of November 8th, 1889, the following is quoted:

> The Democrats celebrate their victory today. Our gifted and brilliant Governor is very enthusiastically supported by strong party men.

He is an extreme partisan, and those who are like him in this respect stick to him. But, as often happens with such men, he is unpopular at the polls—more so than Blaine; so much so as Conkling would have been in a state or national election. He is lacking in sober judgment. His partisanship blinds him—makes him an unsafe leader; and his bitter sarcasm excites a corresponding animosity against him. It was unwise to run him a third time.

I find another reference to me under the date of June 10, 1892, at the time when the National Republican Convention of that year was in session at Minneapolis and renominated General Harrison. In this he is made to say:

Telephone from the *Journal* office that Harrison was nominated on the first ballot. This is well—perhaps the best possible under all the circumstances. It gives Blaine a very black eye. He came into the fight when he was honorably bound to keep out. He had the support of almost all of the unscrupulous bosses, Platt, Quay, Foraker, Clarkson, etc., etc. Harrison represents the best elements of the party.

I should feel worse on account of these strictures than I do if it were not that he has said even worse things about a great many others—almost everybody he mentions—except only Sherman and McKinley, both of whom he lauds on every occasion. For instance, under date of June 8th, 1884, we find the following:

The event of the week is the nomination of Blaine at Chicago. Mr. Blaine is not an admirable person. He is a scheming demagogue, selfish and reckless.

While General Garfield was on his deathbed at Elberon, but thought to be recovering, he wrote to General Corbin, who was at the President's bedside, evidently with intent that his words should reach the sufferer, the following:

The President must see many things to console and sustain him in his suffering. He is now loved and revered by the people; by men and women in all sections of the country, with an affection and reverence felt only for Washington and Lincoln. . . . Mrs. Garfield, Mother Garfield, and his children are all embraced in the tender and supreme affection of the American people.

Later, when Garfield was dead, according to his biographer, he jots down the following:

> . . . He had large faculties,—memory, analysis, fluency, the debating faculty; he was the best popular debater of his time. He was not executive in his talents—not original, not firm, not a moral force. He leaned on others—could not face a frowning world; his habits suffered from Washington life. His course at various times when trouble came betrayed weakness. The Credit Mobilier affair, the De Golyer business, his letter of acceptance, and many times his vacillation when leading the House, place him in another list from Lincoln, Clay, Sumner, and all the other heroes of our civil history.

How, indeed, had the mighty fallen! When he wrote Corbin, to be read to the convalescing President, he ranked him with Washington and Lincoln. When he wrote in his diary "the brown dust of death" had closed the sufferer's ears and he had fallen into a class lower—nobody knows how much lower—than Lincoln, Clay, Sumner, and *all our other civil heroes.*

The first expressions were intended to console the victim and the second presumably to comfort his bereaved family! Mr. Hayes was always doing something good! That much at least his biographer makes plain—very plain.

When Harrison was nominated in 1888 he spoke of him in terms of highest praise, and when he was elected, he says, "I murmured to myself: How good! How good!" It gave him special happiness "that such good people as General and Mrs. Harrison were to carry their clean ways and pure lives into the White House. Besides, I do hate Cleveland's course toward the veterans of the war." I agreed with him about the Harrisons; and what he says about Cleveland expresses all that was the matter with me; but I said so openly and in language that did something to arouse the Nation and correct the wrong. I submit that my method of dealing with the offender against the rights of the veterans was better than his.

In 1892 he thought it extremely fortunate that Harrison was renominated because "he represented the best elements of the party," etc. On election day, however, he wrote,

evidently referring to some previous entry not published, "Election day. The *lack of interest* continues. Whether Harrison or Cleveland, is in doubt. If a full discussion had been had I think Harrison's re-election would have come with the vote of every Northern State. As it is it seems to me that the chance of Cleveland is the best. The country can stand it."

The next day, November 9th, he said:

Even Ohio is claimed by the Democrats. As I see it both candidates lack *personal popularity. Neither excites enthusiasm with the active men in politics, the workers.* This has *led to the most lethargic canvass ever known in a Presidential contest.*

In other words, the "hurrah boys" had lost interest and the result was a Democratic victory. The lesson of all this is plain. You cannot do much in politics without issues and a candidate who is not afraid to discuss them, and they must be issues that are important enough to call for plain talk that the whole people will note and understand. Failing in this, the "hurrah boys" become indifferent and the "sober and conservative" classes too frequently forget all about the election until they read its results the day afterward.

In discharging the duties of his office Harrison was an excellent President, but, as Mr. Hayes says, he lacked tact. He had a grouchy way of meeting people and lost friends and made enemies. Consequently on election day there was "lack of interest." Defeat was his reward and his party's disaster.

Some of us foresaw all this at Minneapolis and in a conscientious endeavor to serve the best interests of the party, and not as a lot of "unscrupulous bosses," tried to nominate somebody else. It was not an agreeable thing to do, but duty commanded, and we did the best we could.

In the Senatorial contest with Senator Sherman a few months before a great many revenue agents, national bank examiners, and others holding positions under the Federal

government flocked into Columbus and made themselves active in opposition to my candidacy.

Governor Foster was then Secretary of the Treasury. Senator Sherman had helped to secure him this appointment as a token of his appreciation for Governor Foster's support in the National Convention of 1888. The Governor had a natural aptitude and a great liking for practical politics. He had an opportunity in this contest to show his appreciation for what Senator Sherman had done for him, and, therefore, made it known early that, while he had no personal antagonism to me, yet he favored Sherman's re-election.

I felt some resentment, and in the course of a speech I was called on to make at the time I referred to these government officials who were so intermeddling, as "everybody from grandfather's hat to Baby McKee." This was construed by some to indicate a hostile feeling toward President Harrison; but it was not so, and if it had been it would not change the fact that neither personal nor political dislike had anything to do with my opposition to his renomination at Minneapolis. On the contrary, my relations with General Harrison were cordial, not only before, and while he was President, but afterward until his death.

I had numerous letters from him after he was elected, all of the same general character as the following:

BENJAMIN HARRISON.
674 DELAWARE STREET.

HON. J. B. FORAKER, Columbus, Ohio.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., Nov. 22, 1888.

My Dear Governor:—You will know without elaborate explanations from me why I have been so slow in acknowledging your telegram of congratulations, and I am sure you will not impute it to any lack of interest or appreciation either of the friendly words in which you express your satisfaction in my election or of the good work which you gave to our Indiana campaign. I shall be glad to see you at any time, or have from you, in the frankest and most confidential way, any suggestions which you may desire to make.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Foraker.

Very truly yours,
BENJ. HARRISON.

I answered the foregoing letter as follows:

Nov. 24, 1888.

Dear General:— . . . Responding to your kind invitation to frankly make any suggestion I may wish to make, allow me to insist that you give yourself no concern about "golden bridges" for Southern Democrats to retreat over.

We can well afford to let them take the chances of swimming the creek. Every true-hearted Republican, and to such you owe your election, and upon meeting the expectations of such you must depend for the success and popularity of your administration, feels that we will fail in our duty if we hesitate to throw about the elective franchise every safeguard that legislation can appropriately supply.

Of course, we should be kind, as we have been, but we must be firm. Beware of men who have "fits." They always have them at the wrong time.

Use your own good sense, and have in all things the courage of your honest convictions.

Hastily, but truly, and with regards to your family.

J. B. Foraker.

Hon. Benj. Harrison.

The allusion to "golden bridges" has reference to some editorials the "saintly" Richard Smith was publishing at the time in which he advised President Harrison to build a "golden bridge," something like Hayes had done, on which Southern Democrats could retreat into the Republican Party.

That my advice was well received is indicated by the fact that he did not waste any time on such sentimental suggestions. We continued our correspondence in much the same way from time to time all the while he was in the White House. I quote only one more letter, and I quote that, not so much to show our relations, as to show how the President felt about his work after he had fairly entered upon it; his experience in that respect being interesting because, no doubt, like that of all other Presidents:

Executive Mansion.
Washington, D. C.

March 27, 1889.

Dear Governor:—I am much obliged for your kind letter. It is very pleasant to have your commendation of the little work I have been able to do up to this time.

It is a growing wonder to me that a President is able to do anything well in the rush and confusion that surges around him. People

complain of the slowness that attends appointments, and yet they do not give me an unemployed hour.

With kind remembrances to Mrs. Foraker.

Sincerely yours,

Hon. J. B. Foraker. Benjamin Harrison.

Recurring now to Minneapolis—as Chairman of the Ohio delegation I cast forty-four votes, all, except his own and one other, for Major McKinley; but if we had voted for Blaine, as Mr. Hayes indicated I had done, for whom I had high regard, great admiration and warm friendship, I should not have been the subject of criticism on that account at the hands of Mr. Hayes or any champion of McKinley, who had openly supported Mr. Blaine in 1884, and, as a Blaine man, had opposed, until the last minute, the indorsement of Sherman by the State Convention of 1887.

And surely Mr. Hayes would not have put Senator Quay in an objectionable class if he had remembered that Senator Quay was the sole hope of salvation for the Sherman cause in 1888, outside of Ohio, and the "rotten boroughs" of the South.

If Mr. Quay was a good enough man and Republican for Mr. Sherman to have a political understanding with him whereby he secured his support in 1888, I might be allowed to at least vote with him for the same candidate in 1892; for that was doing only what Mr. Sherman was pleased to have me do four years previous.

But, however all this may be, the entry made by Mr. Hayes in his diary on election day fully vindicates the views we entertained and the efforts we made to have the Convention avoid making a nomination that insured the defeat that followed.

When Mr. Hayes wrote in his diary immediately after my defeat in 1889 that I was "popular with the hurrah boys," but "too much of a partisan," and that "as often happens with such men he is unpopular at the polls," he was not fully advised. The figures already given show he was mistaken; that instead of being unpopular at the polls the reverse was true; for, although I was defeated in 1889

EXECUTIVE MANSION
WASHINGTON

March 27 1889

Dear Governor

I am much obliged for your kind letter. It is very pleasant to have your commendation of the little work I have been able to do up to this time. It is a growing wonder to me that a President is able to do anything well in the rush and confusion that surges around him. People complain of the slowness that attends appointments & yet they do not give me an unemployed hour. With kind regards to Mrs F.

Sincerely Yours Benj Harrison

Hon T B Forster

by a plurality of 10,872, yet I received then 368,551 votes or 12,019 more votes than I received in 1887, when I was elected by a plurality of 23,329.

All this is re-enforced by the fact that prior to 1883, when I was first a candidate for Governor, the highest vote that had ever been polled by any Republican candidate for Governor was 336,261 votes—for Governor Foster in 1879. In 1883 I received 347,164 votes; in 1885, 359,281 votes; in 1887, 356,534 votes, and in 1889, 368,551 votes—a steady growth, except in 1887 when there was a slight falling off due to the conflicting Blaine-Sherman Presidential sentiment. All these votes were not only higher than any vote ever before polled by a Republican candidate for Governor, but I received these respective votes notwithstanding there was at each election, what had never happened before, a strong Prohibition vote, drawn almost entirely from Republican ranks.

This vote amounted to 28,081 in 1885; 29,700 in 1887, and 25,504 in 1889. I give these votes not only to show that I succeeded in bringing Republicans to the polls, but to show also that the Prohibitionist of that day stuck to his party and voted his ticket even when he knew that because of my letter to Mayor Mosby the entire liquor element of the State, with all the influence it could command and all the assistance it could get, was arrayed against me.

He was correct, however, in saying it was a mistake for me to be a candidate for a third term—everybody could see that after I was defeated—but not because I was a partisan, or was popular with only this, that, or the other class of Republicans, but because as he says, there was an element in the party that "would be glad to see him run behind the ticket. Some want him beaten and votes will be lost."

Mr. Hayes thus makes himself an important witness against a lot of treacherous bolters, many of whom afterward tried to escape responsibility by lying about what they had done; but he is mistaken again when he speaks of this hostile element as a "sober and conservative element" in the party. There was no foundation in fact for that statement. The

best elements of the State were all with me. This is shown by the descriptive accounts of the meetings addressed and such letters as the following from Bishop Joyce:

WESTERN METHODIST BOOK CONCERN.

CINCINNATI, July 8, 1889.

My Dear Governor Foraker:— . . . Your nomination is to me a very great pleasure, and I most sincerely congratulate you on the remarkable success of your administration of the interests of the Great State of Ohio; and I also congratulate you on having the confidence and co-operation of the best and most intelligent men of Ohio. . . . With best wishes for you in every way and in all things, I am, faithfully your friend, I. W. JOYCE.

The hostile element was simply Mr. Richard Smith's band of "cut-throats," represented by Mr. Hanna, General Beatty and a few other leaders associated with him, and nobody else, save and except the far more numerous disaffected liquor dealers and the personal liberty Republicans, who were offended by my letter to Mayor Mosby, of which letter, if Mr. Hayes had spoken at all, I am sure he would have spoken in terms of praise.

I shall always regret that General Hayes did not talk frankly with me while our relations were cordial and opportunities frequent, rather than privately jot down in a diary a lot of jagged sentences to be published to the world, probably after both he and I were dead, and, therefore, at a time when there could be no opportunity for explanation or defense.

That our relations were such as to have made it easy for him to talk with me on any subject is indicated by numerous letters on my files written in his own hand, a few of which may be published without impropriety.

January 31st, 1887, he wrote me the following letter in response to a note from me, informing him that I had appointed him a member of the Board of Trustees of the Ohio State University:

FREMONT, 31, Jan'y, 1887.

Personal.

My Dear Governor:—The appointment you have given me has many attractions, and I am obliged *specially* to you for it. I hope and expect

to accept it, but there is a possibility that I cannot. It is a *bare* possibility. But I must wait a few days before deciding. In the meantime I prefer that there should be no doubt made public. This is, of course, of small importance.

But we are sometimes disgusted with a pretense of hesitation when in fact the party is only too eager to get what is offered. The truth is I like it, and with thanks, am sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GOV. FORAKER.
Columbus.

A few days later he sent me his acceptance, qualified, and faithfully and efficiently served until his death when Governor McKinley appointed me to be his successor; but I declined in the following letter:

Feb. 7, 1893.

Dear Governor:—I do not lack appreciation for the compliment you and the Senate have paid me in making me the successor of ex-President Hayes on the Board of Trustees of the Ohio State University; on the contrary I esteem it most highly and thank you accordingly; nevertheless I am too busy a man to undertake such a trust and must be allowed to decline to accept. If it were otherwise I would enjoy the work and regard it as a pleasant duty to take the place.

With sentiments of high regard, I remain,

Very truly, etc.,
J. B. FORAKER.

HON. WM. MCKINLEY, JR.,
Governor of Ohio.

Quoting further from our correspondence General Hayes wrote me August 19, 1887, as follows:

FREMONT, O., 19 Aug., 1887.

My Dear Governor:—I am greatly obliged for the invitation to Gettysburg and for your kind letter in that behalf. It is not, however, practicable for me to attend. As usual I go to the reunion of the Army of West Virginia next week, and hope to meet you at Wheeling and hear the rest of the speech which the storm cut in two last year.

With best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GOV. FORAKER,
Etc., etc.

His reference in this letter to the storm interrupting my speech calls to memory a rather pleasing incident. At some one of our soldier banquets held in Cincinnati during the 70's it was my fortune to be seated by the side of General

Hayes. At the conclusion of the regular program a number of comrades were called upon for impromptu remarks on various subjects suggested by the toast-master. I was one of these unfortunates, and my subject was, "Our Unknown Heroes."

On the spur of the moment I concluded that rather than do any generalizing I would content myself with telling an incident of the war that came under my personal observation, and one that had made so deep an impression on my mind that it was natural to recall it on such an occasion as typifying the subject of my response.

My response, therefore, consisted of telling that at the battle of Mission Ridge, after we had scaled the enemy's works and captured two of their guns that were stationed about at the point where the left of our regiment crossed their trenches, their line which, as we took possession of their position, had broken and fled in confusion, rallied and came back for the purpose of re-taking and dragging away with them the captured cannon. I was some distance to the right, but being on a little higher ground, got a good view of what occurred. A very sharp fight ensued, in the midst of which the Confederates seized the wheels of the gun carriages and started with them down the ridge. Our men seized the other side of the wheels and sought to retain the guns. The Confederates, having some advantage in the nature of the ground, were getting the better of the "pulling contest," when a soldier belonging to Company D of our Regiment, with blond hair on his head and no hair at all on his face, a mere boy in appearance, as he was in fact, climbed up onto one of the guns and while seated astride of it commenced with his fixed bayonet to jab at the Confederates who had hold of the wheels; first on one side and then the other. The result was that they were compelled to loosen their hold and our men recovered the gun and were hauling it back in triumph when the young hero who had rendered this effective service was struck by a bullet and fell from his perch killed, dead, as I supposed at the time. He was, however, only a few weeks in the hospital, for it turned out that the bullet struck him on his forehead about

Fremont, O.
19 Aug. 1887

My Dear Governor:

I am greatly obliged for the invitation to Gettysburg and for your kind letter in that behalf. It is not however practicable for me to attend. As usual I go to the Reunion of the Army of West Va. next week, and hope to meet you at Wheeling and hear the rest of the speech which the storm cut in two last year.

With best wishes
Sincerely
R. B. Hayes

Gov. Foraker
&c &c

the edge of the hair, glanced and plowed back over the scalp, making an ugly streak that he was proud of showing during the rest of his service.

After the war was over I often thought of this incident, and to illustrate how nameless the soldier was I recalled, and stated, that I never knew for him any name except "Sharp," a nickname given him by the comrades of his company. He was well-known throughout the regiment by this nickname, but I doubt if anybody outside of his immediate friends ever knew him by any other name.

After the war was over and the men scattered to their homes I regretted I did not know his name and where he lived in order that I might keep track of him.

When I took my seat General Hayes said to me, "If almost anybody except yourself had told that story I would not have believed it." There was in his remark both a compliment and a warning. His remark always afterward came back to my mind as often as I thought of the incident as an admonition to me never to tell the story again, except only where I had a good reputation for truth and veracity.

The occasion referred to by General Hayes in his letter when he speaks of the storm interrupting my speech was a reunion of the Army of West Virginia held at Portsmouth, Ohio. I was to speak in the afternoon, but was interrupted in the way indicated. There were several thousand people present, among them ex-President Hayes and Mrs. Hayes and many other distinguished guests. When we recessed for dinner it was announced where the different ones present as guests would be entertained. According to this announcement President Hayes and Mrs. Hayes and I were to dine with Colonel E. E. Ewing.

While waiting on the outside of the tent for the carriage to arrive in which we were to be taken to the Colonel's residence many sought to shake hands with us and pass a few words of compliment and good-will. Among others I was approached by a stout, rugged-looking man, apparently a farmer, with sun-browned face and a rather sandy beard.

As he addressed me and extended his hand he announced that he belonged to the 89th Ohio. I did not recognize

him and, therefore, catechized him sufficiently to satisfy myself that he was really a member of our regiment. He stood the test and showed great familiarity with the regiment's services.

While he thus talked with me General Hayes was standing near enough to hear all that was said.

Finally, like a statue coming out from a block of marble on which a sculptor was working, I began to see the features of that boy "Sharp." As they grew stronger I finally said, "Are you the soldier who was called 'Sharp'?" At this he suddenly started, and grabbing my hand said, "My God! I haven't been called 'Sharp' for twenty years." I asked him to please let me look at the top of his head, whereupon he removed his hat, and there, sure enough, were unmistakable signs of the wound he had received.

General Hayes seemed as happy as I was to meet the young hero and to congratulate him upon the service he had rendered to his country at Mission Ridge, and to me in vindicating my story in the way he had.

My present recollection is that he said his name was George W. Fellers, of Co. D., and that he lived in Pike County, Ohio. This comrade is living there now, or at least was when I last heard from him.

It is so pleasant to review this correspondence and live over again the events of that period that I quote one more of these letters:

FREMONT, O., 16 Oct., 1887.

My Dear Governor:—Mrs. Hayes and I will be especially glad to entertain you next Friday—meeting you at our depot Thursday evening. But we are old stagers in the business you are now in, and understand that you may find it necessary to stop at the hotel and to hurry on without having time even to call. Now you are to feel perfectly *at home.* No time in war for honors or salutes. With the best wishes of Mrs. Hayes and myself.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GOV. FORAKER.

I think I can understand how Mr. Hayes came to have of me the disparaging estimate to which he gives expression.

In the first place he was a man of very cool temperament and great dignity, not only of character but of expression.

In the second place he had been President of the United States, and, no doubt, had come to regard the occupant of that office as a person whom it was almost sacrilege to speak of in harsh criticism; or in any way calculated to make him the butt of ridicule. Hence, my excoriations of President Cleveland during the campaigns of 1887 and 1888 were probably somewhat shocking to his sensibilities.

In the third place, he always prided himself on what he was most criticised for by me as well as others in connection with his administration as President; his rather singular if not indefensible effort to efface, so far as possible, the breaches of friendship and all unkind feeling between the North and the South engendered by the war. In this behalf he went to the extent of recognizing and sustaining the Democratic Governors in both South Carolina and Louisiana, although it was fully established that both had been chosen by fraud, intimidation and outrage; and, notwithstanding, in the case of Governor Packard, of Louisiana, he had, in spite of all these practices, 8,000 more votes to make him Governor than Hayes had received in Louisiana as our candidate for President.

On top of all this he appointed David M. Key, of Chattanooga, a Confederate and a Democrat, to be Postmaster-General in his Cabinet. It is all right to suitably recognize good men of the opposition party, but they are not likely to be of much help in the Cabinet, where political policies must be discussed and determined.

I have always felt, and still feel, that in all this part of his public service he had a laudable ambition, in the accomplishment of which he was actuated by patriotic and unselfish purposes; but I thought then, and I think now, that what he did was prompted by impracticable sentimentalism, and that what he accomplished for the public good was of but little value to the country compared with the injury he did to himself in the estimation of thousands of his fellow Republicans.

It does not seem quite right either for him to criticise Republican partisans.

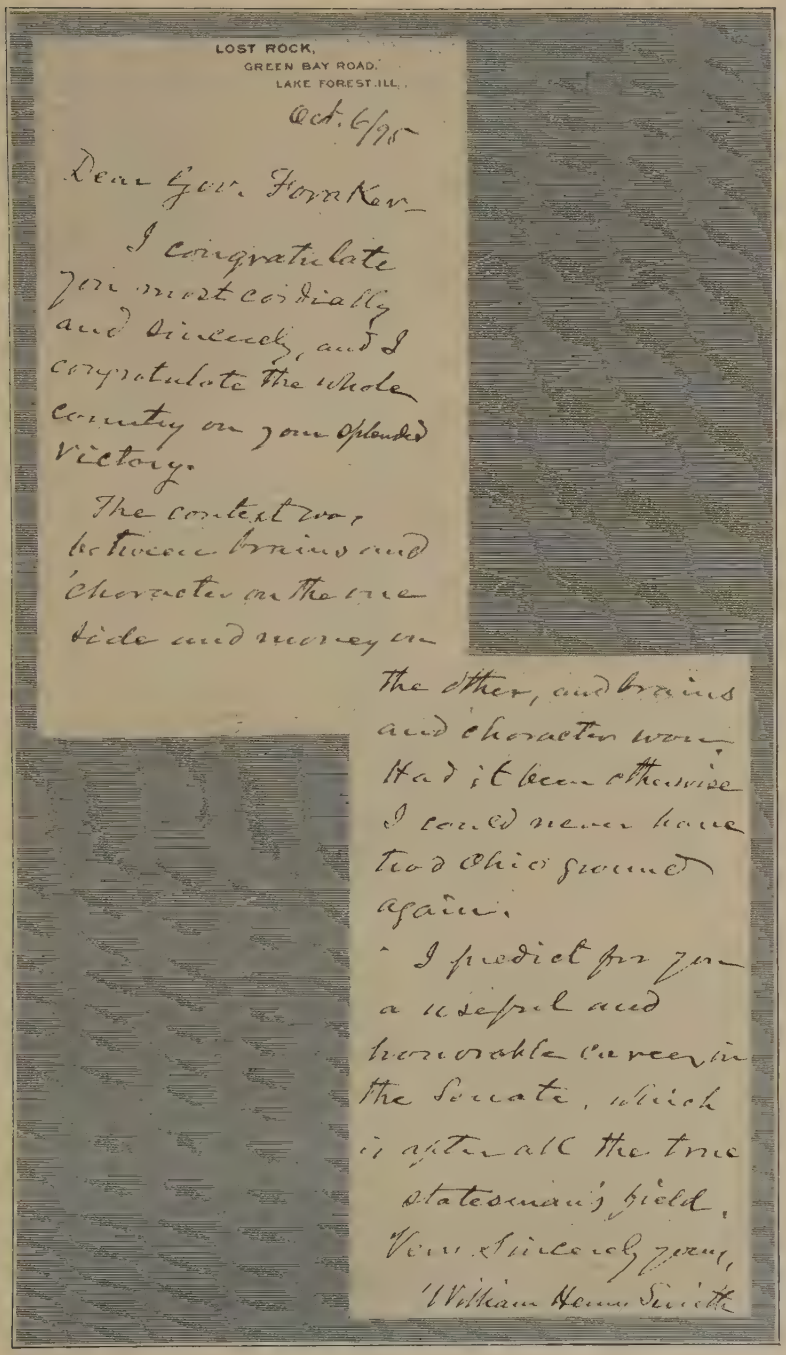
Except only for such stalwart partisans as Zachariah Chandler he never would have been President; and except for such stalwarts as James A. Garfield, who was a member of the Electoral Commission, he never would have had a favorable decision from that tribunal; and except only for such stalwarts as Thomas B. Reed, who conducted the investigation, he never would have had the truth disclosed, and the facts established with respect to the attempted bribery shown by the "Nephew Pelton" letters, on account of which Mr. Tilden was so discredited that his own party refused to renominate him, and Republicans were so strengthened that Garfield won handsomely in 1880.

But, however all this may be, his experience, association and aspirations were such as to make it impossible for him to be otherwise than fairly shocked by the character of debate I had with Governor Gordon on the occasion of his visit to Ohio, and with Governor Wilson on the occasion of my visit to Wheeling.

Moreover, he and Richard Smith were old personal and political friends and he was probably a daily reader at the time of the nearby Toledo *Commercial*, then edited by Mr. Smith, or if not a daily reader at least familiar with the ugly editorials Mr. Smith was publishing, and was influenced by them to my prejudice.

When to all this is added the fact that McKinley served in his Regiment, the 23rd Ohio, and Sherman had served in his Cabinet, bringing to his administration more distinction and success than anybody else, and that neither ever said anything very bad about anybody, it was natural for him to be in sympathy with them instead of with me, when factional lines were drawn as they were in 1887 and 1888.

Finally I count myself fortunate in being able to quote as an answer to Mr. Hayes' criticism from a speech made by William McKinley at Cleveland, October 5, 1889, just a few days before the election and before Mr. Hayes made the entries quoted.



LOST ROCK,
GREEN BAY ROAD,
LAKE FOREST, ILL.

Oct. 6/95

Dear Gov. Hunker—

I congratulate you most cordially and sincerely, and I congratulate the whole country on your splendid victory.

The contest was between brains and character on the one side and money on the other, and brains and character won. Had it been otherwise I could never have trod Ohio ground again.

I predict for you a useful and honorable career in the Senate, which is after all the true statesman's field.

Very sincerely yours,

William Henry Smith

Mr. McKinley had enjoyed a better opportunity to know my methods and my political affiliations, and especially what had occurred at Chicago than almost anybody else in the State.

He said:

We have had Chase and Dennison and Tod and Brough, and one of God's noblemen in the person of Rutherford B. Hayes. But you may scan the public record of Governor Foraker, and you will find it shine brightly beside the best. He is brave, he is courageous, he is manly, he is brilliant, and even the Democrats admit that he is able.

There is but one fault with Governor Foraker today; when he sees things he knows to be wrong and things he doesn't like he has the nerve to call them by their right names and hit them; and hit them hard.

If President Hayes had any friend whom he prized as much as he did William McKinley, it was William Henry Smith. He was a life-long political and personal friend and, had he lived, had been chosen by Mr. Hayes to be his biographer. He was an able man, twice Secretary of State of the State of Ohio, and, therefore, always interested in Ohio men and Ohio affairs. As a newspaper man and as the manager for years of the Associated Press, he was familiar, in a newspaper way at least, with all the public men of the nation and with all our political history. It gives me pleasure to add the following from him to the testimonial of Governor McKinley. It is of later date, but only the more valued on that account because it shows that in his discriminating judgment I had successfully passed the test of all trials down to that date—of some of which the ex-President never had any knowledge.

LOST ROCK.
GREEN BAY ROAD.
LAKE FOREST, ILL., Oct. 6, '95.

Dear Governor Foraker:—I congratulate you most cordially and sincerely, and I congratulate the whole country on your splendid victory.

The contest was between brains and character on the one side, and money on the other, and brains and character won.

Had it been otherwise I could never have trod Ohio ground again.

I predict for you a useful and honorable career in the Senate, which is, after all, the true statesman's field.

Very sincerely yours,

HON. JOS. B. FORAKER. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

Some years after the death of General Hayes I was requested to write a short sketch of his life and public service. It was afterward used and can now be found in a book called "The Presidents." The following is a copy of what I then said about him:

HAYES.

Interest in President Hayes is reviving, and I am glad to note it. He was not properly appreciated by the country while in life. I hope history will do him justice. He was in private life a lovable man, and in public life very able, as well as pure and patriotic in his purposes. He was of rugged constitution, of undoubted physical courage and always willing to stand by his convictions, without regard as to results. He was of humble origin, a self-made man, a lawyer and a soldier; three times Governor of Ohio, a member of Congress, and President of the United States. He distinguished himself in these relations. He got his education by hard work and personal deprivation. He attracted attention at the bar from the day of his admission. He held the very responsible office of City Solicitor for the city of Cincinnati when the war broke out. He at once volunteered and rapidly rose to the rank of Major General for efficient and gallant services rendered at the front. He was distinguished for bravery in almost every battle in which he fought.

His elections to be Governor of Ohio were over the three strongest and most popular Democrats in the State—Thurman, Pendleton and Allen. He beat them all in succession.

He came into the Presidential office handicapped by a disputed title, and disappointed many Republicans by the course he pursued with respect to the South, particularly as to the Packard government in Louisiana; but he took that step from a high sense of duty.

His Cabinet was one of the ablest we have ever had, and his administration will compare favorably in all respects, but particularly as to its high moral and patriotic plane, with any we have had since the war.

When he retired from the Presidency he very largely dropped out of sight, but he did not lose interest in public affairs, nor cease to labor for the public good. He was active in all kinds of benevolent work, especially in connection with the national associations for prison reforms, charities, etc.

He took great interest in the Ohio State University, serving as a member of its Board of Trustees. In fact there was no work of a worthy kind, and beneficial to humanity in a charitable or educational way, in which he was not willing to engage, no matter how humble might be the position assigned him. He did not do this work for the sake of employment—that he might be occupied—nor that he might be in some sense kept before the public, for he had no thoughts or troubles of that character. It was purely and solely unselfish, and for the good of others.

He had a beautiful home at Fremont, Ohio, with spacious grounds, and there he delighted to spend his time. He was never a hard student, but he was always a wide and attentive reader, a charming conversationalist, and an agreeable and entertaining companion.

He had a considerable fortune, and a wife and children of ability, culture and refinement. His was a model home, and there, after he was free from public cares, were spent the happiest days of his life.

Upon the death of President Hayes, which occurred at his home at Fremont, Ohio, William McKinley, Jr., then Governor of Ohio, issued a proclamation in which he said among other things: "In battle he was brave, and wounds he received in defending his country's flag were silent but eloquent testimonials to his gallantry, patriotism and sacrifice. . . From the completion of his term as President of the United States, he was an exemplification of the noblest qualities of American citizenship in its private capacity; modest, unassuming, yet public-spirited, ever striving for the well-being of the people, the relief of distress, the reformation of abuses, and the practical education of the masses of his countrymen.

"We are made better by such a life. Its serious contemplation will be helpful to all. We add to our own honor by doing honor to the memory of Rutherford B. Hayes.

"It is fitting that the people of Ohio—whom he served so long and faithfully—should take especial note of the going out of his great light, and make manifest the affectionate regard in which he was held by them.

"I, therefore, as Governor of the State of Ohio, recommend that the flags on all public buildings and school houses be put at half mast," etc.

This proclamation may be taken as giving the true estimate of President Hayes' character by the Ohio President who is now at the head of the nation.

Rutherford B. Hayes was universally respected as a man of strong intellectual endowment and uprightness of character and purpose. He was beloved as a man, a neighbor, and a friend by all whose good fortune it was to know him.

J. B. Foraker.

"Though he slay me yet will I trust in him; but I will maintain mine own ways before him." (Job 13:15.)

CHAPTER XXVII.

OUT OF OFFICE BUT NOT OUT OF POLITICS.

FROM the time of my retirement from the Governor's office, in January, 1890, until I took my seat in the United States Senate, March 4, 1897, I was busily occupied in the practice of my profession and had but little to do with politics. There are, consequently, only a few events occurring during this period that I shall take the trouble to mention.

State Convention of 1890.

That my defeat did not hurt me with my friends and the great body of the loyal Republicans of Ohio, was evidenced by the fact that, at the first State Convention afterward held in Cleveland, July 16, 1890, I was requested by the State Committee to act as temporary chairman, and as such, according to the practice in our State, sound the keynote of the campaign. This was an off year, and following defeat it was not expected that the Convention would be very largely attended or that much enthusiasm would be manifested. All were agreeably surprised, therefore, when, in addition to the delegates and alternates, there gathered at Cleveland to attend upon this official meeting of the party's representatives, strong delegations from almost every county in the State.

I was never more cordially received by any Ohio audience than I was by that Convention, and the great crowd assembled in the galleries of the hall as mere spectators.

I commenced my remarks by referring to the defeat we had sustained the year before. In the course of my remarks on this subject, I said:

All connected with it that may be the cause of criticism or bitterness of feeling should be forgotten, but if there be those who must have a victim; those whose minds are so constituted that they cannot be satisfied without definitely fixing fault, to all such I have an appeal to make. My appeal is that you place the blame upon me. (Cries of "No, no.") Whether it be just or unjust for you to do so, I shall not stop to question. Neither shall I utter a word of complaint, but on the contrary, bear most gladly all that the bitterest enemy can even imagine as appropriate to be laid upon my shoulders, if thereby I can in the slightest degree promote the common good of our common cause. (Applause.) What happens to me or to any other individual is of no consequence, in a political sense, to anybody, but what happens to the great Republican Party is of the highest concern to all. (Great applause.)

I then called attention to the fact that the Honorable Daniel J. Ryan, at that time Secretary of State, and conceded by all entitled to renomination, would be our leader in the campaign, and took occasion in that connection to compliment him in high terms upon his splendid abilities, popular manners and personal strength. These remarks were much appreciated.

After some allusions to the tariff and national politics, I addressed myself to the administration of Governor Campbell. I quote as follows:

The newspapers recently reported Governor Hoadly as saying that Campbell's administration has made him respectable. (Laughter and applause.) It would be difficult to say anything worse than that (cries of "That's so"), for notwithstanding the personal virtues of Governor Hoadly—and they are many and great, for he is a man of the highest character, conscientious and faithful to his beliefs—yet it is universally conceded that under his administration our State, in some respects, touched the lowest point in all her history. . . . To say that Campbell has done worse is to speak either a cruel slander or a startling truth. . . . The record justifies his remarks. . . . The list of reorganizations and ripper bills and ripper laws is too long to be gone over in detail and the character of the General Assembly is too bad to be talked about in polite society (laughter and applause), and yet I must give you some idea of this body and its labors. Fortunately I can do so in the language of a Democrat. . . .

I then quoted at length from a letter published in the Cincinnati *Post* by General Morton L. Hawkins, Governor

Campbell's Adjutant General and Chief of Staff. Among other things, speaking of the Legislature, he said:

. . . It will be distinguished as having spent thousands of dollars on useless expenditures, . . . for having cowardly forsaken its German allies. (Giving them a famine of water instead of a deluge of beer.) (Laughter and applause.) . . . And for accepting from boodlers a goodly sum of money, . . . for having among its members some of the smallest and cheapest rascals that ever got into politics.

His letter was a long one and throughout was of the same general character.

I proceeded as follows:

It is to right such wrongs as these, to turn out of power such a party as this, that every Republican in Ohio is this day summoned to battle. Under such circumstances everything that stands in the way of party zeal and party fealty must be put to one side, and every Republican must be up and doing. (Applause.) To be lukewarm, to halt, to hesitate, to doubt, to grumble, growl and whine is, like open treachery, a political crime that no Republican can afford. (Applause.)

No matter, therefore, who carried razors last year, see to it that you do not carry one this year. If any man did less than his duty last year make him ashamed of himself by doing more than your duty this. Show him that you are for harmony and victory when you are not personally interested, as well as when you are. Do not punish him at the expense of the Republican Party, but at the expense of the enemy, by setting a better example than he gave. Such is our duty. (Applause.)

But, there is more than duty to give us inspiration. "Why, in that elder day, to be a Roman was greater than a king." And so it is that in our day and generation to have been a Republican has been the highest honor in the political world. (Applause.) And yet, we are Republicans—we are the inheritors of all the bright glories of our party's history. We are the followers of Lincoln, of Grant and of Garfield. All that is good, great and heroic for the last thirty years bears the impress of our party's wisdom and our party's patriotism. It was this party that crushed the rebellion, saved the Union, abolished slavery, reconstructed the States, enfranchised a race, and redeemed our promises to pay; it was this party that inaugurated and has maintained the policy of a protective tariff; and it is this party that has led us constantly onward and upward from the time when free popular government was but a mere questionable experiment, until we have come to the very head and front of all the governments of the earth—the freest, the happiest, the richest and the strongest of all God's people. (Applause.) We have lived in the best period of the world's history, and have participated in the greatest battles that have been fought for humanity. The good influences of our achievements have gone, like a benediction, all around the globe. No political party ever organized has won such victories in either field or forum. (Applause.)

I closed with an earnest exhortation to all Republicans to forget differences and vie with each other for a Republican victory.

I assisted in the campaign that followed the Convention and aided in every way I could to secure the Republican victory that was achieved in November.

I had by this time become so busily occupied with my law practice that I had neither time nor desire to participate further in politics, and was, as I supposed, making a sort of farewell tour of the State.

Nomination of McKinley for Governor.

I had no thought of attending the next State Convention, which was held at Columbus in June, 1891, for the nomination of a candidate for Governor, until some weeks before the Convention, when Major McKinley, who was in Cincinnati on other business, came to my home on Walnut Hills and personally requested me to attend the Convention and place him in nomination for the Governorship.

Mr. Croly, in his life of Senator Hanna, says, speaking of this Convention:

> The plan rapidly took shape of nominating McKinley for Governor in the summer of 1891; and this plan was successfully accomplished. The Convention was held in June, and the Major was placed at the head of the ticket, practically without opposition. He was not opposed by Foraker; that gentleman had other irons in the fire. The Legislature elected in the fall of 1891 named a Senator to succeed Mr. Sherman; and Mr. Foraker was anticipating and seeking an enlarged sphere of usefulness in Washington.

Mr. Kerr, in his life of Sherman, speaking of this Convention, says:

> Governor Foraker nominated Major McKinley in a speech of great brilliancy and force. Indeed, it was a masterpiece, and perhaps the finest speech of the many fine speeches made by Foraker. The following paragraph will illustrate the force and propriety of the utterance:
>
> "We must select for our standard-bearer that man who, above all others, can most surely command our undivided strength. We must have for our leader a fit representative of our views with respect to every living issue, and one who, in his record and his personality, is

the best type we have of the illustrious achievements and the moral grandeur of Republicanism. He must have a sure place in the confidence and in the affections of the Republicans of Ohio. He must be able, because of their esteem for him, to command not simply their unfaltering but their enthusiastic support. Such a leader we have. It is not my privilege to point him out; it is no man's privilege to point him out. That has already been done. By common consent all eyes have turned in the same direction. One man there is, who, measured by the exigencies of this occasion, stands a full head and shoulders above all his comrades—and that man is William McKinley, Jr."

Reading only what Mr. Croly says, one would imagine that at most I only forbore opposing Major McKinley.

Reading what Mr. Kerr says, he will get a different view.

Reading what I now add, that, although not a delegate, I attended the Convention and placed Major McKinley in nomination, at his request and solely for the purpose of rendering him an important service at an important point in his career, which request he made of me at my residence in Cincinnati, which he visited on his own motion and for that one specific purpose, a still clearer view will be obtained of our relations at that time, and enough will be seen to support the statement, if not make it unnecessary, that Major McKinley, who was as closely associated with me at the Chicago Convention of 1888 as any other man, had not, either there or at any other place, seen anything in my conduct that caused him to regard me as lacking in friendship for him or as lacking in any quality of manly fidelity that would justify him or anybody else in regarding me as capable of betraying any interest I might undertake to represent.

That Major McKinley appreciated the service I rendered him is evidenced by the following letter:

COLUMBUS, O., 6-17-'91.

Dear Governor:—I have just read your speech at the Convention and hasten to express my pleasure. I most sincerely thank you for the generous words spoken of me. Everybody was delighted with your speech and it has done, and will do, great good. I had hoped to see you before leaving, but missed you.

Believe me, Yours sincerely,

WM. MCKINLEY, JR.

HON. J. B. FORAKER.

Re-election of Senator Sherman.

The election of McKinley was followed by a spirited contest between Senator Sherman and myself for the United States Senatorship, which resulted in his re-election by a vote of fifty-three to thirty-eight, *just the reverse of how the vote stood, according to my information and estimates, when the members of the Legislature assembled at Columbus.*

In this contest Mr. Hanna was Senator Sherman's manager. A glimpse of the character of the campaign he organized and carried on is given by his faithful chronicler, Mr. Croly. After speaking at length of the methods employed by Senator Hanna to finance the political campaign for Governor McKinley, he proceeds as follows:

> In the case of Mr. Sherman's candidacy, Mr. Hanna's efforts were not confined to raising money. A good many thousand dollars were indeed contributed—partly by Senator Sherman himself—for the purpose of assisting respective candidates in doubtful districts, and this money was placed in the hands of the Chairman of the State Executive Committee, Mr. W. M. Hahn, who was favorable to Mr. Sherman's re-election. But, in addition, special efforts had to be made to pledge respective candidates to Sherman rather than to Foraker, and in case a pledge was refused to bring the pressure of local public opinion upon an adverse or doubtful nominee.
>
> Agents were sent all over the State to carry on this work. Not a district was neglected which offered any promise of a fruitful return.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> A week before the caucus Mr. Hanna went to Columbus and took personal charge of the Sherman campaign. The situation looked desperate; but it was saved, so Mr. Sherman himself stated to his friends, by Mr. Hanna's energy, enthusiasm and ability to bend other men to his will.

After the fight had been won Senator Sherman, according to Mr. Croly, wrote Mr. Hanna as follows:

> January 9th, 1892.
>
> *My Dear Sir:*—Now, after the smoke of battle is cleared away, I wish first of all and above all to express to you my profound gratitude and sincere respect for the part you have taken in the recent Senatorial canvass. I feel that without you I would have been beaten. It was your foresight in securing the Cleveland delegation that gave us the

strongest support and made it possible to counteract the evil influence of the Hamilton County delegation.

You have been a true friend, *liberal*, earnest and sincere, without any personal selfish motive, but only guided by a sense of what is best for the people of Ohio and of the country. I wish you to know that I appreciate all this and will treasure it as long as I live and only wish the time may come when I may in some way show that I am deserving of all your kindness.

When I was about to pay the bills, Hahn said you had assumed same or had provided the means for the payment of certain expenses. It is not right that you should bear this burden, and I hope you will frankly state to me what amount you have expended, and what obligations you have incurred, so that I may at least share it with you. I have so written to Hahn. It is a source of great satisfaction to me that our canvass was made without the expenditure of a single dollar for boodle, with no bitterness to our adversaries, and with no appeals for our candidate to the interested cupidity or ambition of the Senators and Members.

Please give my kindly regards to your wife, and tell her for me that she is lucky to have so good a husband, the soul of honor.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

Immediately following this letter Mr. Croly records in his book the following:

In spite of Senator Sherman's profession of gratitude he never mentions Mr. Hanna's name in the lengthy account of his final election to the Senate, which appears in his "Reminiscences." Indeed, Mr. Hanna's name never appears in the entire book. The volume was published in 1895 and in 1896, so that Mr. Sherman's later grievance against Mr. Hanna, if grievance it was, could have had nothing to do with the omission.

It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Croly, when he penned these lines, that possibly after Senator Sherman wrote to Mr. Hanna the letter quoted, and wrote some other letters of similar character about the same time to other people, he became satisfied that he was laboring under a mistake as to some facts he stated, and that it was on this account that he abstained from all mention of Senator Hanna's name in any connection whatever. It seems less probable that he failed to mention him because he forgot, than that he failed to mention him because he couldn't

forget. At least, it would seem quite conclusive evidence that he did not forget that, according to Mr. Kerr, his biographer, Mr. Sherman was in the very midst of his work on his book at the time when the Zanesville Convention was held, over which Mr. Sherman presided and at which Mr. Hanna was present and very prominent.

Later, when Major McKinley had been elected President, although Mr. Hanna had full knowledge, he, in some way, brought about for a short time a restoration of at least quasi-friendly relations, and induced McKinley to appoint Sherman Secretary of State, and prevailed on Sherman, or rather had others do so, to accept the appointment, thus preparing a way for him to enter the Senate.

Without discussing the campaign conducted by Senator Hanna for Senator Sherman, resulting in his re-election in 1891, it is sufficient to say that, whether truthfully or otherwise, Senator Hanna was openly charged with many things connected with it that were of an indefensible and exasperating character.

Notwithstanding all this, when the Ohio delegation reached Minneapolis to attend the National Republican Convention of 1892, we found Mr. Hanna already on the ground.

His veracious biographer, Mr. Croly, tells us what he was there for. He says, speaking of that Convention:

> But preparations were made to bring McKinley forward in case Mr. Harrison's renomination proved to be difficult. Mr. Hanna's hope was that enough delegates would be kept away from the President by a revival of the Blaine candidacy to tie up the nomination and permit the introduction of McKinley into the breach.
>
> Mr. Hanna was not a delegate to the Convention, but he went to Minneapolis, and opened unofficial headquarters for McKinley at the West House. For some days he tried, not without prospects of success, to arrange combinations, which under certain possible contingencies, might result in McKinley's favor.
>
> It was, however, a useless effort.

Notwithstanding all that had gone before, Mr. Hanna, in his effort to bring about the nomination of McKinley, did not hesitate to seek a conference with me in that behalf.

The situation was a difficult one to deal with. Harrison, according to political precedent, was entitled to the vindication of a renomination. He had made a good President, and in a broad way merited another trial, but at the same time all who were familiar with political conditions realized that he had been unfortunate enough to make himself unpopular, and that in all probability to renominate him was to insure defeat.

Blaine was as much beloved as ever by his legion of friends, but his advancing years and the impression that he was in failing health, coupled with the fact that his nomination would doubtless be distasteful to Harrison and administration forces generally, militated against him to such an extent that many of his staunchest friends, myself among them, finally came to the conclusion that it was our duty to find and nominate some new man if possible.

This feeling made it easy for me to forget Mr. Hanna's past unfriendliness and confer with him as to McKinley's chances; and this, notwithstanding a number of McKinley's appointees, and other friends from Ohio, were talking in the hotel corridors, and wherever they could get an audience about the delegation, particularly the pro-Blaine members of it, in a very offensive way.

The result was that in the Convention, with the exception of two votes, one of which was his own, the Ohio delegation voted for the nomination of McKinley.

McKinley's failure to get the nomination was a great disappointment to his friends generally, but especially to those then in Minneapolis. They, not knowing that Mr. Hanna had solicited our action, instead of giving us credit for sacrificing personal preferences, and in a broad, patriotic way, trying to promote the chances of party success in the campaign to follow, and doing something that should have contributed to the restoration of harmony among Ohio Republicans, broke out with malicious and vindictive charges and criticisms. Among these charges, and the chief one, was that our support was not given in good faith, although Senator Dick, Governor Nash and a number of McKinley's

M. A. Hanna & Co.
Coal, Iron ore and Pig Iron.
Cleveland, June 19th 1892

My dear Gov.

I left Minneapolis for St Paul immediately after the nomination of Harrison and came home from there. Which is the reason I did not call on you before leaving. Therefore I write to say that I fully appreciated your course on Friday and sincerely hope that the combination of circumstances which led to that result will be the means of accomplishing what I most earnestly desire - the restoration of harmony in our party. I am sorry to learn that there is still some talk about the bitter feeling between you and McKinley. And I think it would be well for you and I to do something to stop this kind of talk and particularly in the Newspapers. When do you expect to be up in this section. Will you go to the Islands soon? I wish go there to see you.

Truly Yours M A Hanna

closest friends were on the delegation, but only to put him in a false light before the country by making it appear that he was a candidate and getting him defeated, when he was not a candidate, and did not want to be nominated.

With these facts in mind, the following letters that passed between Senator Hanna and myself, immediately following the Convention, will be better understood and appreciated:

CLEVELAND, O., June 19, 1892.

My Dear Governor:—I left Minneapolis for St. Paul immediately after the nomination of Harrison and came home from there, which is the reason I did not call on you before leaving. Therefore I write to say that I *fully appreciate* your course on Friday and sincerely hope that the combination of circumstances which led to that result will be the means of accomplishing what I most earnestly desire—the restoration of harmony in our party. I am sorry to learn that there is still some talk about the bitter feeling between you and McKinley and I think it would be well for you and I to do something to stop this kind of talk and particularly in the newspapers. When do you expect to be up in this section? Will you go to the Islands soon? I will go there to see you.

Truly yours,
M. A. HANNA.

June 20, 1892.

Dear Hanna:—I have your letter of the 19th inst., and write to thank you for the cordial expressions of appreciation and good-will that it contains.

I am without responsibility for the talk, to which you refer, about the feeling between McKinley and me. You learned from me at Minneapolis the cause of it and how surprised and angry my friends were when they heard his appointees talking as they were in the corridors of the hotel and elsewhere. As you advised, I ignored it all and went to his support in the Convention. I did it, not so much because of your assurance that such action would be appreciated by McKinley, as because I thought, it being impossible to nominate Blaine, that it was good politics in this sense: giving him Ohio solid might secure his nomination, which was far preferable to me than Harrison, or, failing in that, the mouths of his friends would be shut against saying that I and my friends had stood in the way of his nomination. In other words, I thought we had acted without any selfish purposes in view and certainly not as the result of any scheme to put the Governor in a false light, and that we would be entitled to kind, instead of unkind, expressions at the hands of all the Republicans of the State. In that we appear to have miscalculated. The criticisms and the annoyances seem to be as bitter as bitterness itself. But to all this foolish talk I am paying no heed. Those who desire may indulge in it to their heart's content.

I do not know when I shall be in your part of the State again. The Convention and other matters have interfered seriously with my busi-

ness, and now, in the closing days of the courts, I am kept very busy at my office. Sometime, however, in July I hope to get away and will then try and meet you, if there be any occasion for a conference, or I will drop up to the Lakes and see you sooner, if there be any necessity therefor.

Write me fully at any time.

Very truly yours, etc.,
J. B. FORAKER.

HON. M. A. HANNA,
Cleveland, Ohio.

HON. J. B. FORAKER, CLEVELAND, O., June 24, 1892.
Cincinnati, Ohio.

My Dear Governor:—I received your letter of the 20th inst., and note what you say about matters at Minneapolis.

It will take a little time to educate our friends on both sides that it is the intention of those most interested in the success of the Republican Party to do away with these factional jealousies. I am taking every opportunity to do so and like yourself will pay no heed to things that I may hear, but will faithfully work to secure the end that we both desire.

I will make an opportunity to see you somewhere in July. Certainly I will be delighted if I could have a visit from you here, therefore hope you will keep me advised as to your movements. Meantime I will write you frankly when anything of importance occurs.

Truly yours,
M. A. HANNA.

This was the third National Republican Convention that I attended as a delegate-at-large from Ohio. I was chosen by the delegation to represent Ohio on the Committee on Resolutions. That committee made me its chairman, and ex-officio chairman of the sub-committee which heard and considered all suggestions that were offered and heard all persons, both male and female, who had anything to say, and these were many of both sexes. Thus was devolved upon me the principal labor and responsibility of preparing and reporting the platform, which I carefully revised and condensed after all differences had been settled in the sub-committee before presenting it to the whole committee.

I was much gratified when, at the conclusion of my report to the Convention, having read the platform, section by section, and having moved its adoption, Senator Depew,

who was a member of the New York delegation, said, "I trust there will be no objection. I hope this will go through. It is one of the best platforms I ever heard in my life." I was the recipient of many compliments of similar character, but on the principle that "Praise from Sir Hubert is praise indeed," as I stated in my answer, I appreciated the following more perhaps than any other letter I received:

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.
CHICAGO, 110 LA SALLE ST.

June 15, 1892.

Personal.

Dear Governor Foraker:—The confusion inseparable from the proceedings of the great National Convention prevented me from offering you my congratulations on the brilliant termination of the labors of the Committee on Resolutions. The platform has a literary finish surpassing that of all others of recent times. In the avoidance of surplusage it excels any other of any time. This is a great achievement and marks you a scholar as well as a leader and a statesman. I do not mean this indorsement to cover all of the sentiments of the platform. While admiring the architect I reserve to myself independence of opinion. I am not a high protective tariff man, and I think a force bill is as pregnant of mischief as Pandora's box. It is a great misfortune to the Republican Party that its leaders have made it responsible for a lot of worthless white office-holders in the South; for misdirecting the education of the enfranchised race and for the perpetuation of a rotten borough system. But for these classes and conditions the renomination of President Harrison would have been impossible; but for these, indeed, which he knew he controlled, his name would not have gone before that Convention.

It is a great gratification to an old Ohioan, whose affections for the State have never lessened, to know that the two men who came out of the Convention with enhanced reputations are yourself and Governor McKinley; the two brilliant leaders of the second generation of Ohio Republicans—the one from the Southern, the other from the Northern section of the State. And I wish further to congratulate you on the manly and magnanimous course you pursued in the Convention. This will bear good fruit in the future.

On behalf of the Associated Press, and of my son, Delavan, who had charge of the work at Minneapolis, I wish to thank you for important and considerate action which greatly promoted the efficiency of the service. Very few men have any conception of the embarrassments and difficulties attending the proper and adequate presentation of the work of such a body. Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

HON. JOSEPH B. FORAKER.

I took some part in the campaign, but less than usual. I was so busily occupied with my law practice that I had little time for anything else. On this account, although I made a few speeches in each campaign, I practically divorced myself from politics during the years 1893 and 1894.

Finally the little part I was taking became the subject of criticism. This criticism came from enemies, and was intended to disparage and discredit me. It proceeded upon the theory that I had been so greatly honored by my party that it was selfish on my part to neglect its interests for my own.

I finally concluded I could and would remedy this trouble to the entire satisfaction of those complaining, if not everybody, and, therefore, as 1895 approached, I made it known that I would take a hand in the selection of a candidate for Governor, the nomination of a ticket, the adoption of a platform, and everything else of importance, connected with the politics of the State, including the indorsement of myself as a candidate for United States Senator, something never before done in Ohio.

Naturally my first thought was as to a candidate for Governor. General Bushnell had been my candidate in 1889, but finally refused to allow his name to be considered.

He was my first choice in 1895, but he again balked, and both publicly and privately announced that he was unwilling to accept a nomination. I talked with him on the subject several times, but was unable to change his mind. Finally concluding that he was unavailable, I determined to support General J. Warren Keifer, and for a time tried to turn support to him, but while everybody conceded his ability and his high character, his splendid soldier record, his sound Republicanism and his general fitness for the executive position, yet there was from the start a rising tide of sentiment in favor of General Bushnell. The more the General said he didn't want it, the stronger grew the demand for him. At last it became evident that it would be impossible to nominate General Keifer, whereupon I wrote him, frankly advising him that such was my opinion, and sug-

gesting that he withdraw from the race. He was a fighter, and not a quitter, and wrote me that he would rather be defeated in the Convention than retire from the contest.

In the meanwhile Senator Hanna selected the Honorable George K. Nash, a very popular man, as his candidate, and with his accustomed energy set about concentrating all the McKinley forces in his favor.

The Convention was called for Zanesville May 28th. As the day approached the situation became constantly more and more acute. When it finally arrived there were many more people in that city than could be comfortably accommodated. Senator Sherman was present, and as temporary chairman delivered the usual key-note speech; he was continued as permanent chairman. Governor Foster, Senator Hanna and all the other prominent Republicans, were also there. Not only a Governor and a United States Senator were to be chosen, but a Presidential indorsement was at stake, and more exciting than all was the fact that a battle royal was to be fought between two great factions that had reached the point where nothing short of a genuine trial of strength would satisfy either.

Mr. Kerr, in his "Life of Sherman," refers to this Convention as follows:

> The Republican State Convention of Ohio for 1895 was to meet at Zanesville on May 28th, and Mr. Sherman was elected as Chairman. Mr. Sherman made preparation and left Washington for the Convention, presided over its two days' deliberations, and then went to his home at Mansfield. This Convention was one of the most interesting in the history of the State. It was the scene of the last legitimate contest between the warring Republican camps which called themselves respectively the followers of Sherman or Foraker. Senator Sherman had no part in the contest—the gentlemen who called themselves "Sherman men" were led by Mark Hanna, and Foraker led his forces in person. The Hanna men were not allowed to surrender—they were captured, and even their side arms taken from them. . . .
>
> As soon as the formal work of the Convention was done, a movement was made to adjourn until the next day, which was in accordance with the general understanding, and the ordinary program of a two-day Convention. But the Foraker men saw their advantage, and sought to have the nomination of the candidate for Governor made that night. The Convention then proceeded to nominations and a ballot. Judge George K. Nash was the candidate of the Hanna men; the Foraker candidate was under cover, and was not placed in nomination at all.

E. W. Poe received most of the Foraker votes on the first ballot, but it was not their intention to nominate him. The rest were scattered, some going to James H. Hoyt, some to John W. Barger, but fifty-eight votes were cast for General Asa S. Bushnell, who was the real Foraker candidate. Bushnell gained steadily until the sixth ballot and at midnight he was nominated.

To show the spirit of the Convention I quote the following from one of the Zanesville daily papers:

General Bushnell was nominated by the decisive vote of 509, but it took six ballots to arrive at this result. While it required six ballots to work up to this point, there was no time after midnight Monday when there was any doubt as to what the result would be. It was, all in all, the best arranged campaign and best executed political plan in the history of the State.

The Bushnell managers knew exactly where their votes were coming from, and how many could be depended upon in each county. They had still a reserve of friends when the ballot was taken which resulted in the nomination of General Bushnell, and, had it been necessary to take another ballot there would have been sad surprises for Judge Nash and Mr. Hoyt.

. . . The scenes in the afternoon session of the Convention were the most remarkable ever seen by an Ohio State Convention goer. Never before in the history of the party in this State was such an ovation given to a man in a Convention as was given to ex-Governor Foraker. From the time he entered the room and was almost carried to the stage on the shoulders of his admirers, it must have been evident to the wholly uninitiated that no man could dispute with him the control of that body.

The Democratic papers published many things about the convention that were amusing to the average reader, but probably annoying to Senator Hanna and his friends. Among many other similar publications, the following verses, a la Bret Harte, went the rounds of the press, appearing in most of the Republican as well as practically all the Democratic papers:

THE SMOOTH JOSEPH B.

Specially Reported by M. A. H., of Lakewood.

Which I wish to remark,
And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark
And which give me a pain,
Joey Foraker's mighty peculiar;
Which the same I would rise to explain.

It was late in the night,
And quite soft were the skies;
Which it might be supposed
That J. B. was likewise.
Yet he played it that night upon William
And me in a way I despise.

Which we had a small game,
And J. B. took a hand;
It was euchre. A game
That we all understand.
And he smiled as he got into Zanesville,
With a smile that was child-like and bland.

Yet the cards they were stocked
In a way that I grieve,
And my feelings were shocked
At the state of his sleeve—
Which was stuffed full of Asas,* et cetera.
And the same with intent to deceive.

And the hand that was played
By that slick Joey B.,
And the points that he made
Were quite frightful to see,
Till at last he swooped down on a trick
That was to have been taken by me.

Then I looked up at Nash,
And he gazed upon me,
And he uttered a dash,
And remarked: "Hully gee!
We are ruined by Foraker's doings,"—
And we went for the smooth Joey B.

In the scene that ensued
Uncle Mark took a hand,
And the floor it was strewed
Like the leaves on the strand
By the tricks that McK. and your uncle
Had fondly expected to land.

Which I wish to remark,
And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark
And which give me a pain,
This same Joey B. is peculiar,
And the same I am free to maintain!

Similar descriptive accounts appeared in all the papers, not only all over Ohio, but all over the country.

* Referring to Asa S. Bushnell, nominated for Governor, and Asa W. Jones, nominated for Lieutenant Governor.

We not only nominated the Governor, but chose by a good round majority every other man on the ticket, adopted a platform that proclaimed sound Republican principles, endorsed me for Senator and William McKinley as Ohio's candidate for the Presidency in 1896.

In the campaign that followed the whole party participated, presenting everywhere, all along the line, an unbroken front to the common enemy.

Bushnell was elected by the largest majority with which any Governor had ever been honored, and the Legislature was overwhelmingly Republican.

In January following, when the Legislature met, I was elected to succeed the Honorable Calvin S. Brice as United States Senator from Ohio, for the term commencing March 4, 1897.

On the day of my election Major McKinley called upon me at my room in the hotel to congratulate me upon the fact that my fight had reached a successful conclusion and to talk over with me his prospects for the Presidency.

In this conversation he requested me to go as a delegate-at-large from Ohio to the National Republican Convention, and in that way and otherwise, to assist in securing his nomination.

I told him I would gladly give him any help I might be able to render, but that I preferred not to go as a delegate, reminding him of the disagreeable experience, of which he had full knowledge, to which I had been subjected on account of the Convention of 1888, remarking that while, if he should be nominated, as I hoped and believed he would be, it would be all right, yet, if he should fail, there would doubtless be a repetition of the charges of treachery and bad faith, no matter how unjust they might be, just as there had been on the former occasion.

We separated without any definite conclusion having been reached. I next heard from him on the subject when I received the following letter:

CANTON, O., January 29, 1896.

Dear Senator:—In the line of our talk on the morning of the day you were elected Senator, I now write to say that it would be very gratifying to me to have you represent the State as one of the Delegates-

at-Large in the National Convention at St. Louis. I now write what I then said that I very much desire you should go. I am sure this is the wish of the Republicans of the State, as it is most earnestly mine, I shall hope to hear from you soon and often. I trust you and Mr. Hanna will have frequent consultations on matters relating to the St. Louis Convention and I shall be pleased to see and confer with you at any time. With best wishes, I am always,

Sincerely yours,

To Hon. J. B. Foraker, Wm. McKinley.
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Our State Convention was held in Columbus on the 10th of March. I had been selected as temporary chairman, and as such the duty devolved upon me of making a keynote speech.

In the discharge of this duty I said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:—I sincerely thank the State Central Committee for the honor of temporarily presiding over this Convention, and I most heartily thank you, gentlemen of the Convention, for your kind and enthusiastic greeting. Be assured of my proper appreciation. Ordinarily, as I understand it, it is thought to be the chief duty and office of the temporary Chairman of a convention like this to discuss current political questions and define party positions. Ordinarily I should make that kind of an address on such an occasion as this. It is possible that you are expecting some such remarks as those. If so, you will be disappointed, for, in my judgment, that kind of an address is not necessary under the circumstances attending us here today.

It is not necessary, because everybody knows that no matter what questions may be discussed in the coming campaign, the one great, towering, supreme issue in the contest of '96 will be whether for the next four years this country shall be ruled by Democrats or by Republicans.

And everybody knows in advance what the verdict will be. Even our Democratic friends understand and can see that the sweeping victories of last year are to be followed by still greater and grander triumphs this year. (Applause.) The Republican Party was never so strong, never so powerful, never so popular, never so intrenched in the hearts and affections of the people as it is today; and so far, at least as Ohio is concerned, never so united or harmonious as at this very hour. (Great applause.)

We have no differences of opinion with respect to national questions or policies, and we have no factional dissensions to weaken our strength or divert our attention from the common enemy. Therefore it is, that, while we are here for the purpose of nominating a ticket and declaring anew the faith that is in us, we come also to the discharge of a higher and more commanding duty. It has already been indicated by our Chairman.

Here to Redeem It.

The Zanesville Convention declared that the Republicans of Ohio would unitedly and enthusiastically support the candidacy of Governor McKinley. The time has come to redeem that pledge, and we are here to redeem it. (Applause.) In every district and county convention so far held this year in this State, he has already been indorsed. We assemble now as the representatives of the Republicans of the whole State for the purpose of doing the same thing. We owe it to ourselves as well as to him to do it with spirit, to do it with earnestness, to do it with unanimity, to do it in such a manner, in short, as will signify to the whole nation that he has now, and will have at the St. Louis Convention, the united, hearty, cordial, enthusiastic, unqualified support of Ohio. (Long continued applause.)

It is due, however, to the Republicans of Ohio, and especially to Governor McKinley himself, that it should be said, here and now, that our preference for him is not conceived in any spirit of antagonism or hostility to any other man whose name is mentioned in connection with that high honor. The Republicans of Ohio do not lack appreciation for Thomas B. Reed, or Levi P. Morton, or William B. Allison, or Matthew Stanley Quay, or any other great leader who has been mentioned in connection with that great honor. On the contrary, we admire and love them all, and if the St. Louis Convention should disappoint us, and give its honor to one of them, we here and now pledge to him in advance the electoral vote of Ohio by the largest majority ever given in the history of the State. It is not that we "love Caesar less, but Rome more." (Loud applause.)

William McKinley is our own. He lives here in Ohio, and always has lived here in our midst. He is our friend, our neighbor, our fellow-citizen, our fellow Republican. Shoulder to shoulder with him we have been fighting the battles of Republicanism in this State for a generation. We know him and he knows us. We know his life, his character, his public services, and his fitness for the place for which he has been named. He has been our soldier comrade, our Representative in Congress, our Governor. By all these tokens we here today present him to the Republicans of the other States of the Union as our choice, and ask them to make him theirs.

In this connection it should be remembered that he is identified with all that is good and great and grand and glorious in the history of Republicanism. When but a mere boy, answering his country's call, he shouldered his musket and marched away after the flag to the music of the Union to make a record for gallantry and heroism at the front on the battlefields of the Republic. Returning and entering Congress he was soon there distinguished for his eloquence of speech, fidelity to duty, his wise and conservative judgment, and his ever patriotic and conscientious regard for the rights of the people.

In Congress.

The year 1890 found him at the head of the Ways and Means Committee and Leader of the House. In that position it fell to his lot to frame and secure the enactment of the McKinley law. That measure has made his name familiar in all the world and has made him exceed-

WILLIAM Mc KINLEY

Canton O
June 29 1896.

Dear Senator:

In the line of our talk on the morning of the day, we were elected Senator, I now write to say, that it would be very gratifying to me to have the represent the State, as one of the delegates at large in the National Convention at St Louis, I also write what I then said, that I very much desire you should go. I am sure this is the wish of the Republicans of the State, as it is most earnestly mine, I shall hope

to hear from you soon and often, I trust you and Mr Hanna will have frequent consultations, on matters relating to the St Louis Convention and I shall be pleased to see and confer with you at any time.

With best wishes. I am always,
Sincerely Yours.

Wm McKinley

To Hon J B Foraker
Cincinnati O

ingly unpopular in almost all the world outside of the United States. But it has correspondingly endeared him to his countrymen. Time has vindicated his labor. The last three years have been years of trial. They have been years of Democratic rule; they have been years of education for the American people in the school of practical experience. As a result, the American people know a great deal more about the tariff now than they did in 1892.

Every business man has found out that no matter what kind of business he may be engaged in the tariff has a close, direct relation to him; and the wage-worker has learned that his prosperity depends on the maintenance of a protective tariff policy. As a result, in every section, in every State, in every county, in every municipality, in every mill and mine and furnace, forge and workshop, everywhere throughout all this broad land where capital is invested or labor is employed, William McKinley is the ideal American statesman, the typical American leader, and the veritable American idol. (Cheering.)

No man ever in public life in this country enjoyed such universal popularity as is his. No man in this country in public life ever commanded, as he now commands, the affection of the great mass of the voters of this country. (Applause.)

Blameless in private life as he has been useful and illustrious in public life, his name, in our judgment, will inspire more confidence, excite more enthusiasm, and give greater guaranty of success than any other name that can be inscribed on the Republican banner. As the candidate of the Republican party he will command the support of all classes and shades of Republicans, and at the same time command also the help of tens of thousands of patriotic Democrats in every State of the Union.

All who believe in America, all who believe in Americanism, all who believe in promoting and advancing the interests of America at home and abroad will rally to his support and help him to plant our banner in triumph on the citadel of the nation. His administration will be a fit rounding out of the glorious achievements of the nineteenth century and constitute a bright and inspiriting chapter with which to commence the record of the second era of Republican rule.

Under his administration there will be no deficits, no more bond issues in time of peace, no more bond syndicates, no more trouble about the national credit or the national currency, no more "higgling" about pensions for the men who saved this Union, and no hesitation whatever, such as we now see in the White House, in demanding and securing for the United States her rightful place and consideration among the nations of the earth. (Applause.)

Called to that office, he will fit it without obligation to any influence or power except that which emanates from the people whom he will be called to serve, and in all that he does he will be governed by that belief upon which has been founded and run his whole career—that this government is of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Other States are declaring for him. Ohio cannot lead the column; it is already on the march. All we can do is to join the procession. We will not hesitate longer to take action in that respect. (Loud applause.)

I want my speech here today to be short enough for anybody to read it, and plain enough for everybody to understand it. I have sounded, gentlemen of the Convention, the keynote of this occasion. I thank you. (Long continued applause.)

Of this speech Major McKinley wrote me as follows:

CANTON, O., March 9, 1896.

Dear Senator:—I have just read your speech as temporary Chairman of the State Convention. It was perfect—it could not have been better. I want you to know that I duly and fully appreciate it, and that any words which I could employ would but faintly express my satisfaction. It was in the right spirit, admirable in phrase and will do much good everywhere. I thank you most heartily.

With best wishes for you always and with cordial regards to Mrs. Foraker, in which Mrs. McKinley joins,

Yours very sincerely,

HON. J. B. FORAKER, Cincinnati, Ohio. WM. MCKINLEY.

It was my lot to publicly speak of McKinley formally and at length oftener, perhaps, than anybody else did.

First I nominated him, as already narrated, for Governor in 1891.

On the occasion just mentioned I presented his name for the Presidency directly to our State Convention, and through that medium to the Republicans of the whole United States.

Later, at his request, I nominated him for the Presidency at the St. Louis Convention, and renominated him at Philadelphia in 1900.

Later, at the memorial exercises held in Music Hall in Cincinnati on the 19th day of September, 1901, I carefully and elaborately reviewed his life and public career.

These speeches were subsequently compiled and published in a small book entitled "Tributes to McKinley." This book is in a number of the large public libraries of the country. For this reason I abstain in these notes from further reference to them.

Resuming now the thread of events, Major McKinley next wrote me as follows:

CANTON, O., April 7, 1896.

Dear Senator:—It may be a little early, but I think none too early, to write you my wish in the matter of the presentation of my name before the St. Louis Convention. I want you to do it. Will you? I

3

WILLIAM MC KINLEY

Canton O
March 9 1896

Dear Senator;

I have just read your speech as temporary Chairman of the State Convention, It was perfect - it could not have been better. I want you to know that I duly and fully appreciate it, and that any words which I could employ would but faintly express my satisfaction, It was in the right spirit, admirable in phrase and will do much good everywhere, I thank you most heartily, with best wishes for you always and with cordial regards to Mrs Foraker in which Mrs McKinley joins

Hon J B Foraker
Cinti O

Yours Sincerely
W McKinley

need not say to you that your compliance with this request will be very gratifying to me and greatly appreciated.

An early reply will oblige. Your friend,

WM. MCKINLEY.

HON. J. B. FORAKER,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

In response to an affirmative answer from me he next wrote me as follows:

HON. J. B. FORAKER, CANTON, O., April 14, 1896.
Cincinnati, Ohio.

My Dear Mr. Foraker:—I am delighted to receive yours of the 11th inst., and thank you most sincerely.

I will be very glad to see you at any time convenient to you. Can't you run up some time? Cordially,

WM. MCKINLEY.

I was not able to visit him before the St. Louis Convention, but kept him advised as to how I was situated, and why it was impossible for me to do so.

Mr. Croly digresses from his interesting account of the achievements of Senator Hanna to tell us of the characteristics of some of the men he finds it necessary to mention. In one place he tells of the paucity of letters and telegrams from McKinley to Hanna. All told—

> Only about a score of letters and some four telegrams . . . and the great majority of these are trivial in character. . . . Mr. McKinley was in all his political relations an extremely wary man. He early adopted the practice of not committing to paper any assertions or promises which might subsequently prove to be embarrassing; and even in the case of important conversations over the telephone he frequently took the precaution of having a witness at his end of the line. It is scarcely to be expected that any letters of his will be of much assistance, either to his own biographer or that of any political associate in spite of, or rather because of the fact, that McKinley late in his life wrote too many of his letters with a biographer so much in mind. All important matters were discussed between the two men in private conference. . . . Later they were connected by a special telephone service.

One might infer from these comments that if the dictagraph had been known in his time, McKinley would have supplied himself with one for use in his conferences. How-

ever that may be, notwithstanding what Mr. Croly says, McKinley did not seem to be so "wary" with me. He wrote me as frequently as there was occasion and in a way that did not indicate caution or wariness in his expressions. I have already quoted a number of his letters. I might have quoted many others that are omitted for brevity's sake.

The last letter I received from him before starting to St. Louis was the following:

HON. J. B. FORAKER, Cincinnati, Ohio. CANTON, O., May 25th, 1896.

My Dear Mr. Foraker:—Thinking you might be interested in it, I send you copy of a letter containing some suggestions in connection with the platform to be adopted at St. Louis.

Yours very truly,
WM. MCKINLEY.

This note and the "suggestions in connection with the platform" were brought to Cincinnati and there delivered to me by Hon. J. K. Richards, Attorney General of Ohio during McKinley's administration as Governor, and later Solicitor General and Judge of the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of Ohio by appointment of President McKinley.

The "suggestions" were of a very important character, as will be more fully shown in another connection because of their relation to the gold plank of the St. Louis platform, about the authorship of which there was at one time much controversy.

WILLIAM McKINLEY

4

Canton O

April 7 1896

Dear Senator—

It may be a little early, but I think none too early, to write you my wish in the matter of the presentation of my name before the St Louis Convention, I want you to do it, Will you? I need not say to you that your compliance with this request will be very gratifying to me and greatly appreciated. An early reply will oblige yours ever &

Hon I B Foraker
Cantor O

Wm McKinley

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1896.

CHARLES EMORY SMITH and Murat Halstead traveled with me in the same car from Cincinnati to St. Louis. A rather amusing incident occurred on our arrival. Before we reached the St. Louis station, at one of our stops in the suburbs, an enterprising reporter for one of the newspapers of that city boarded our car and proceeded to interview me as to the members of my party. When I mentioned, among others, the names of Murat Halstead and Charles Emory Smith, he eagerly asked me who *they* were. He said he had never heard of either of these gentlemen, and seemed reluctant to believe me when I told him of their prominence in journalism and that I thought as a newspaper man I should not be required to furnish him biographical sketches of them.

When presently it dawned upon the young man that he ought to be better acquainted with the distinguished veterans of his own craft, he showed much confusion and declined to act upon my suggestion that he subject them to an interview.

What occurred at the St. Louis Convention is familiar history, which I shall not take the trouble to repeat, but content myself with giving some side lights.

The Ohio delegation asked me to serve on the Committee on Resolutions, and that committee made me Chairman, and in that way the duty again devolved upon me of bearing the chief part of the burden connected with the framing of the platform. I found the work on this occasion far more difficult than it was at Minneapolis. In 1892 there were no serious differences among Republicans as to what our declarations should be. In 1896 there was an irreparable schism in the party on account of the silver question, which resulted

in Senator Teller and others publicly withdrawing from the Convention when our platform was adopted.

McKinley and most of his immediate friends recommended that we insert in the platform a declaration that would satisfy the free silver men and yet not offend the gold standard men, and, succeeding in that, bring to the front the protective tariff as the paramount question of the campaign, but in this they failed. The committee used as far as possible the unimportant phrases of the McKinley resolution, but so modified and added to the language they had employed as to make an unequivocal declaration in favor of the maintenance of the gold standard, with the result that the tariff question was relegated to a secondary place and the money question became the burning issue of the contest. This was a new subject and one that imparted an educational feature to the campaign because of the universal discussions of it on the stump and in the newspapers.

The nomination of Mr. Bryan as the Democratic candidate and the vigorous campaign he made in favor of "free silver" accentuated this issue and made its importance vital.

After the victory had been won there arose a sharp controversy as to who was entitled to credit for the adoption of the gold standard plank. A great many claims were put forth by and on behalf of different individuals. I took no part in the dispute until finally a claim was put forth that Mr. Herman H. Kohlsaat was the real author. I had been unfortunate enough to have his ill-will and to be the subject of a great deal of caustic and disagreeable criticism in the columns of his newspaper. His claims were so utterly without foundation, according to the facts as I knew and understood them, that I felt it a duty, in the discharge of which I took some pleasure, to write and publish the history of this plank and its adoption. Inasmuch as it relates to the most important platform declaration made by the Republican Party since the reconstruction period, and because except only the nomination of the candidate it was by all odds the most important action taken by that Convention,

I insert it here in full, not because of the controversial, but because of its historical character.

THE GOLD PLANK

Of the National Republican Platform of 1896—

The Story of Its Adoption.

In *The Metropolitan* for September is an article written by William Eugene Lewis, in which, speaking of Mr. H. H. Kohlsaat, it is stated that

> "Mr. Kohlsaat drafted the gold plank of the Republican platform" (of 1896) . . . "Mr. Kohlsaat perceived that the fight would be on finance and nothing could be gained by evasion. He presented the resolution to the committee and insisted upon its incorporation in the platform. He placed strong political friendships in peril, for men as close and even closer to the candidate than he—if any more intimate relations could exist than those between the editor and the candidate—were emphatically of the opinion that it was the part of unwisdom to declare for gold coinage. They were overcome, and the rest is known. The editor had guessed right."

I have seen substantially this same statement several times repeated, and have never seen any denial of it. Mr. Lewis has no doubt repeated it in perfect good faith, believing, and in the absence of denial he had a right to believe it to be strictly true. Nevertheless it is untrue. Mr. Kohlsaat necessarily knows this, and, being the editor of a newspaper, has good facilities for contradicting it, but so far as I am aware, he has not done so.

If the subject is worth discussing at all, in the interest of true history, and for fear Mr. Kohlsaat may be misled by apparent acquiescence into the belief that nobody knows any better, and that after all he probably did something of the kind narrated, the truth should be made known by somebody.

I had opportunity to know what occurred and all that occurred before or in connection with the Committee on Resolutions of the Republican National Convention of 1896, for I was not only a member of the committee, but I was Chairman of both the Committee that reported the platform and the sub-committee that framed it. I was present and

presided at all the meetings of both the Committee and sub-committee when the platform or any part of it was under consideration, and necessarily knew everything that transpired. Besides, I have a complete, stenographically kept record of all that occurred, showing all communications to the Committee and the sub-committee, and showing the appearance of all persons who came before these committees or either of them, and what they appeared for. There is no mention of Mr. Kohlsaat in the record, and every member of the Committee who has any recollection on the subject knows that he never appeared before the Committee or the sub-committee in any connection or for any purpose whatever. More than that, so far as I can now recall, his name was never mentioned by any member of either Committee in connection with the platform or any proposition in it. There were a great many "financial planks" and resolutions on the "money question" sent to the Committee, and brought to the Committee, and in one way or another presented to the Committee for consideration, but not one was identified in any way whatever with Mr. Kohlsaat or his name. I have still in my possession every such resolution, all properly labeled, but none of them bears his name or any endorsement that has reference to him. This should be enough to dispose of that part of the statement which credits Mr. Kohlsaat with "presenting the resolution that was adopted to the committee and insisting upon its adoption."

That Mr. Kohlsaat favored some such plank as was adopted I do not doubt, but if so, he was but in harmony with ninety per cent. of the leading Republicans of the country outside of the so-called free silver States; and that he may have at some time, or in some manner, or for somebody else's benefit, prepared a resolution of some kind is probably also true. It would have been strange if he had not, for the preparation of financial planks for that platform was very commonly indulged in shortly before and about the time of the Convention by Republicans all over the country. Such resolutions were then being adopted by the different State Conventions; they were being discussed by the

newspapers and the people generally. Not only those who took an active part in politics, but business and professional men who had no thought of attending any Convention, were giving expression to their ideas and striving to acceptably formulate them. The great number of these resolutions that were sent to the Committee, and which I still have in my possession, show all this. They show more than this. They show that outside of the silver States, among the leading Republicans of the country, there was an overwhelming sentiment in favor of an unequivocal declaration in favor of maintaining the existing gold standard and opposing the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Almost every resolution on the subject that came to the Committee was, in effect, of this character, though many of them were objectionable because of their prolixity or phraseology.

So that if Mr. Kohlsaat had prepared such a resolution and presented it to the Committee, he would have been only acting in harmony with the leading men of his party all over the country. It is probable, however, that he did find some people "close to the candidate" who were disposed to be more conservative with respect to such a declaration than the Republicans of the country generally were, and it is possible that his controversy with them was such as to strain relations and "imperil political friendships." If so, Mr. Kohlsaat should be allowed full credit for what he may have done in this regard, but to enable us to judge rightly he ought to tell us all about it.

To recur now to the authorship of the plank that was adopted a few days before I started to St. Louis, the Honorable J. K. Richards, now Solicitor General of the United States, then ex-Attorney General of Ohio, and an intimate, personal and political friend of President McKinley, called upon me at Cincinnati, coming directly from Canton, where he had been given some resolutions in regard to the money and tariff questions, which had been prepared by the friends of President McKinley with his approval, and which it was desired I should take charge of in view of my probable membership of the Committee on Resolutions, with a view to having them incorporated in the

platform. They have never been out of my possession from then until now, and are as follows:

The Republican Party is unreservedly for sound money. It is unalterably opposed to every effort to debase our currency or disturb our credit. It resumed specie payments in 1879, and since then it has made and kept every dollar as good as gold. This it will continue to do, maintaining all the money of the United States, whether gold, silver or paper, at par with the best money of the world and up to the standard of the most enlightened governments.

The Republican Party favors the use of silver along with gold to the fullest extent consistent with the maintenance of the parity of the two metals. It would welcome bimetallism based upon an international ratio, but until that can be secured it is the plain duty of the United States to maintain our present standard, and we are therefore opposed under existing conditions to the free and unlimited coinage of silver at sixteen to one.

The importance at all times of sound money can not be overstated, but of paramount importance today is the restoration of prosperity through a return to the American policy of protection. Our money today is sound; the people are satisfied with its soundness, but they are not satisfied either with the condition of the country or the condition of the national treasury.

Unmindful of the lessons of experience, the present Democratic administration inaugurated a policy looking toward ultimate free trade, which has deranged business, depleted our revenues, crippled our industries and dealt labor a serious blow. With deplorable incompetency it has failed to raise revenue enough to run the Government, and has had to borrow, in the last three years, $200,000,000, mainly to pay ordinary running expenses, selling in secret to favored foreign syndicates the bonds of the Government at prices far below their actual value.

It is time to return to the policy of better (and happier) days. The Republican Party believes that the income of the Government should equal its necessary and proper expenditures. It does not believe in deficits or the issue of interest-bearing bonds in time of peace. It believes that our work should be done at home and not abroad, and to that end renews its devotion to the principles of a protective tariff, which, while providing adequate revenue for the uses of the Government, shall restore American wages and American production, and serve the highest interests of American labor and American development.

When, a few days later, I went to St. Louis, I traveled with the Honorable Charles Emory Smith, now Postmaster-General, and Mr. Murat Halstead. I showed them the resolutions on the train, and we were all of the opinion that, while they contained much that was good, they should be more concise, more explicit, and not seek to make the tariff question "paramount," and that if adopted they should

first be corrected accordingly. Mr. Smith had made a rough draft of the material parts of a platform, including a money plank. He read it to Mr. Halstead and myself, and, after going over it, we were of the opinion that, reserving the financial part for further consideration, with very few unimportant changes, it would be well to adopt what he had written. His money plank read as follows:

Public and private credit, business safety and confidence, the worth of wages and the honor and security of all commercial intercourse depend upon a standard of value and a sound and stable currency. A debasement of the standard and consequent depreciation of the currency destroys faith, robs labor, drives away capital, increases the rates of interest, burdens the borrower, paralyzes enterprise and inflicts incalculable injury upon all except the money changers. Gold, silver and convertible paper, with every dollar of every kind constantly exchangeable and equivalent to every other dollar, constitutes our established currency. We favor the use of silver to the extent at which its parity with gold can be maintained; but we are opposed to the free, unlimited and independent coinage of silver and to any change in the existing gold standard except by international agreement.

I presented all that he furnished to the sub-committee, and with very slight changes the sub-committee adopted what he wrote until the money plank was reached. In this way it came about that substantially the entire platform down to the money plank was the work of Mr. Smith.

On my arrival at St. Louis I consulted with Senator Hanna and other friends of the President with regard to the financial plank. I explained to them the objections that had been made to the resolutions that had been given me by Mr. Richards, and told them also that there was some objection to the prominence the resolutions gave to bimetallism. Senator Hanna said they would give the matter further consideration and advise with me later. A day or two afterward he handed me the following, which was his last expression on the subject before the committee acted, so far as I was informed:

The Republican Party is unreservedly for sound money. It is unalterably opposed to every effort to debase our currency or disturb our credit. It resumed specie payments in 1879, and since then has made and kept every dollar as good as gold. It will continue to maintain all the money of the United States, whether coin or paper, at par with

the best money of the world, and always equal to the standard of its most enlightened governments.

It favors the use of as much silver for currency as possible, consistent with maintaining the parity of gold and silver.

It would welcome international bimetallism; but until an international agreement as to silver coinage is secured it is the plain duty of the United States to maintain our present standard; and we are, therefore, under present conditions, opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver at sixteeen to one.

The money of the United States in circulation today is absolutely sound. The people are satisfied with its soundness; but they are not satisfied with either the condition of the national treasury or the industrial condition of the country.

The Treasury of the United States is deficient, except as it is supplied by loans, and the people are suffering because there is scanty demand either for their labor or the products of their labor. Here is the fundamental trouble, the remedy for which is Republican opportunity and duty. We must first of all supply enough money to run the Government and meet its increasing needs. We must stop loans and the issue of interest-bearing bonds to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government, which has inevitably attended the unfortunate tariff policy, adopted by the present administration.

The income of the Government must equal its necessary and proper expenditures.

It is another plain duty of the people, and their manifest purpose, from which nothing will divert them, to return to the American policy of protection, which has always encouraged American production and afforded employment to American labor at American wages.

The Republican Party believes that our work should be done at home and not abroad, and to that end renews its devotion to the principles of a protective tariff, which, while supplying adequate revenue for the uses of the Government, promotes and defends American skill and enterprise and gives to labor its highest reward.

These and the Richards resolutions were both framed and submitted by the men "close to the candidate," and it must have been in controversy over them that "the editor placed his strong political friendships in peril," if indeed any such thing occurred at all.

But however that may be, it will be observed that the "revised edition" differed but very little from the original and that the real objections had not been obviated, from which it follows that the "close friends" were not "overcome," and that "the editor placed his political friendships in peril" without avail instead of successfully.

In addition to the foregoing, as I have already said, many resolutions and suggestions on this subject were sent to the

Committee. As a sample of them, and to show what the general sentiment was, I quote only a very few.

General Grosvenor submitted the following, which he said he had secured from Senator Sherman as his (Sherman's) idea of what should be adopted:

We are in favor of sound money composed of gold and silver coins, and of notes of the United States carefully limited in amount redeemable in coin on demand, and of notes of national banks fully secured by bonds of the United States and redeemable in coin on demand at their counters, and that both coin and notes shall be equal in purchasing power, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the parity of the coins of the two metals upon the legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law, and that all paper money, whether issued by the United States or by national banks, shall be of equal value to coin and be redeemable in coin.

We are unalterably opposed to the free coinage of silver by the mints of the United States for the benefit of and on the demand of the holders of silver bullion. When needed for coinage silver bullion should be bought by the United States at its market value and coined at the legal ratio and maintained as now at par with gold. The wide disparity of the market value of the two metals from the legal ratio of coinage is such that the free coinage of silver for personal profit would demonetize gold, would establish silver bullion as the sole standard of value, impair the obligations of existing contracts, violate the public faith pledged in the bonds of the United States, and would strike a disastrous blow at the purchasing power of the wages of labor and of all the employments of life. We believe that the American people will respond to the demand that our country will keep its faith inviolate, and will co-operate with the principal nations of the world to secure a ratio between silver and gold based upon commercial values.

At the same time General Grosvenor, to supply an argument in answer to the objections that were being made in some quarters to any declaration favoring international bimetallism, handed me a copy of the following:

Telegram to the Bimetallist Meeting in London, 1894.

We desire to express our cordial sympathy with the movement to promote the restoration of silver by international agreement, in aid of which we understand a meeting is to be held tomorrow, under your Lordship's presidency. We believe that the free coinage of both gold and silver by international agreement at a fixed ratio would secure to mankind the blessings of a sufficient volume of metallic money, and, what is hardly less important, would secure to the world of trade immunity from violent exchange fluctuations. (Signed), John Sherman, William B. Allison, D. W. Voorhees, H. C. Lodge, G. F. Hoar, N. W. Aldrich, D. B. Hill, E. Murphy, C. S. Brice, O. H. Platt, A. P. Gorman, W. P. Frye, C. K. Davis, S. M. Cullom, J. M. Cary.

Governor Cheney of New Hampshire, submitted the following:

We are firm and emphatic in our demand for honest money. We are unalterably opposed to any scheme or measure which threatens to debase our currency. We favor the use of silver as currency, but only to such extent and under such regulations as will enable us to maintain our present standard of values and the parity of all our money. We are emphatically opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver unless by international agreement.

Mr. Moore, member of the Committee from Oregon, offered this, which I think had been adopted by the Oregon Republican State Convention:

The Republican Party has always been the advocate of honest money; it points with pride to its financial record during the greenback movement. It was opposed to greenback inflation then; it is opposed to silver inflation now. We believe that every dollar issued by the Government should have the same purchasing power as every other dollar. We are, therefore, in favor of the maintenance of the present gold standard, and, except through international agreement, we are opposed to the free or unlimited coinage of silver.

Col. L. P. Tarlton, a delegate from Kentucky, offered the following:

We are opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, or at any other ratio, unless by international agreement with the other great commercial nations; and therefore we demand that the existing gold standard of value be maintained, believing that the industrial interests of our people require that all exchanges in trade and the wages of labor should be based upon and paid in the money having the greatest intrinsic value and of the highest standard in the markets of the world; at the same time we favor the use of silver in our currency to the extent only and under such regulations that its parity with gold shall be maintained.

Senator Chandler offered the following section of the statutes:

And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will insure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. And it is hereby further declared that the efforts of the Government should be steadily directed to the establishment of such a safe system

of bimetallism as will maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States in the markets and in the payment of debts.

Approved November 1, 1893.

General James H. Wilson of Delaware, offered the following:

We are emphatic in our demands for sound money on the gold standard of value; we favor the use of both silver and paper money, but to such extent only and under such legislation as will surely maintain them at a parity with gold; and we are opposed to the free, unlimited and independent coinage of silver.

George William Ballou sent the following telegram from New York:

GOVERNOR FORAKER, June 14, 1896.

Republican Headquarters, St. Louis, Mo.

At a conference here today, it was resolved to send you the following for money plank: "That the money of our country should be sustained and perpetuated upon as sound a basis as the money of the other great commercial nations and until such time as we can secure the co-operation of those nations, or sufficient of them, to establish and uphold the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 or upon any reasonable basis, the existing gold standard should be firmly maintained, so that at all times the interchangeable value of every dollar issued by our Government, whether it be gold, silver or paper, shall be equal, and with surplus revenues provided for the Government in the future such equal interchangeable currency values can be as readily preserved as they have been, under like circumstances, in the past."

Hon. Joseph H. Walker of Massachusetts, Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, suggested the following:

We hereby pledge the Republican Party to the maintenance of the present policy and practice of bimetallism in its only practical form, to secure the use of gold and silver as money at a parity and as bimetallism is now maintained in this country, in Germany, in France and in other leading nations.

That each coin and paper dollar paid to the farmer for his product, to the wage worker for his labor, and to all others, shall be kept at a parity with every other dollar.

We are therefore determinedly opposed to the destroying of bimetallism and the establishment of a silver monometallism that would inevitably result from guaranteeing to silver free and unlimited coinage, excepting it be done in compliance with international agreement.

Wherefore we call upon every citizen, North, South, East and West, to rally under the flag of our common country to preserve the honest dollar, to secure a fair day's pay for a fair day's work to every citizen

in the American system of protection, as indispensable to the welfare of the farmer, the wage worker, and to all others; and all other questions being subsidiary to these two.

We hereby relegate their decision to the respective congressional districts throughout the various States.

Not by any means the least influential of all we received in helping us to the conclusion reached was the following:

NEW YORK, June 16, 1896.

The Chairman Republican National Convention, Convention Hall, St. Louis, Mo.:—The undersigned respectfully request you to submit the following to the Committee on Resolutions of your honorable convention. The German-American Sound Money League, consisting of members of both parties, was organized to ascertain the attitude of the German-Americans in regard to the money question. The replies received from all over the United States justify the league in making the following statement:

First. That of the five hundred and eighty-one German-American newspapers which discuss politics, five hundred and one are in favor of the present gold standard, thirty-seven for bimetallism, or free coinage of silver, and forty-three are doubtful. A majority of the newspapers from which answers have been received are published west of the Alleghenies.

Second. That ninety per cent. of the German-American voters regard the money question "as the most important issue in this campaign."

Third. That they will support only that party which in its platform declares itself unequivocally in favor of the maintenance of the present gold standard; and they will not vote for a Presidential candidate who by his letter of acceptance does not pledge himself to stand by his declaration. The party which will declare emphatically for the maintenance of the gold standard, will command a large majority of the German votes, regardless of the party affiliations.

For the German-American Sound Money League:

OSWALD OTTENDORFER,
WILLIAM STEINWAY,
CARL SCHURZ,
GUSTAV H. SCHWAB,
LOUIS WINDMULLER,
EDWARD GROSSE,
EWALD FLEITMAN,
LOUIS F. DOMMERICH,
JACOB H. SCHIFF,
THEODORE SUTRO,
GEORGE F. VICTOR,
JOHN F. DEGENER,
CHARLES C. WEHRUM,
DR. CHARLES FREIDRICH,
HERMAN RIDDER.

If I may be permitted to speak of my own action, I submitted the following:

We believe in international bimetallism and are opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver until by an international agreement we can secure the maintenance of its parity with gold, and pledge ourselves

until bimetallism can be thus secured to maintain the existing gold standard.

Regarding it as in effect an equivalent, I also offered the following:

We believe in bimetallism, and are opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver until an international agreement can be secured, and pledge ourselves in the meanwhile to maintain the existing monetary standard, with the use of silver, to the full extent that its parity can be maintained with gold.

And so I might give scores of other contributions, all to the same effect, but I have quoted enough, and they sufficiently represent the different sections of the country to show that all wisdom with respect to this matter was not confined to one lone man in Chicago, but that there was, on the contrary, a common trend of overwhelming sentiment in favor of an unequivocal declaration against free coinage of silver and in favor of the maintenance of the gold standard. When at one time during the deliberations of the Committee it was reported that a strenuous effort would be made to omit the use of the word "gold" and declare only for a maintenance of the "existing standard," Mr. Lauterbach of New York, and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, both announced that if the Committee should take such action, they would make a minority report and carry the fight into the Convention. Others made similar declarations, but I remember these two particularly because of their earnestness and the weight their declarations carried. It was not necessary for them, however, to make such a declaration because there was never at any time trouble on this point so far as the Committee or sub-committee was concerned. This was early shown by the result of a poll of the Committee with respect to this question published in the Chicago papers immediately after the Committee was appointed, as follows:

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

This is the Committee on Resolutions as elected by the States. The list shows how they stand on the currency question as far as it could be secured:

Alabama—H. V. Cashin, existing standard.
Arkansas—John McClure, gold.

California—Allen B. Lemmon, 16 to 1 free coinage.
Colorado—Senator Teller, 16 to 1 free coinage.
Connecticut—Sam. Fessenden, existing gold standard.
Delaware—J. E. Addicks, gold.
Florida—J. W. Archibald, gold.
Georgia—Not settled. Existing standard.
Idaho—Fred. T. Du Boise, 16 to 1 free coinage.
Illinois—R. W. Patterson, existing gold standard.
Indiana—General Lew Wallace, gold.
Iowa—John H. Gear, ———.
Kansas—C. A. Swinson, ———.
Kentucky—Leslie Coombs, gold.
Louisiana—H. C. Warmouth, sound money.
Maine—Amos L. Allen, gold.
Maryland—James A. Gary, gold.
Massachusetts—Henry Cabot Lodge, existing gold standard.
Michigan—Mark S. Brewer, sound money.
Minnesota—Ex-Governor William R. Merriam, gold.
Mississippi—Wesley Crayton, ———.
Missouri—Hon. F. G. Niedringhaus, sound money.
Montana—Charles Hartman, free coinage.
Nebraska—Peter Jensen, existing standard.
Nevada—A. C. Cleveland, 16 to 1 free coinage.
New Hampshire—Frank S. Streeter, gold.
New Jersey—Frank Bergen, gold.
New York—Edward Lauterbach, gold.
North Carolina—M. L. Mott, sound money.
North Dakota—Alex. Hughes, existing standard.
Ohio—J. B. Foraker, existing standard.
Oregon—Charles S. Moore, gold.
Pennsylvania—Smedley Darlington, gold.
Rhode Island—Walter A. Read, gold.
South Carolina—C. M. Wilder, present standard.
South Dakota—Gold.
Tennessee—Not settled. Sound money.
Texas—Not settled. Gold.
Utah—F. J. Cannon, free silver.
Vermont—Dr. H. D. Haton, gold.
Virginia—J. D. Brady, sound money.
Washington—A. F. Burleigh, gold.
West Virginia—F. M. Reynolds, gold.
Wisconsin—R. M. La Follette, gold.
Wyoming—B. F. Fowler, silver.

TERRITORIES.

Arizona— ———, ———.
New Mexico—John S. Clark, ———.
Oklahoma— ———, ———.
Indian Territory—J. P. Grady, gold.
District of Columbia—Not settled. Gold.
Alaska—Not settled. Gold.

The first action of the Committee was to appoint a sub-committee of nine members, of which the chairman should be ex-officio one and the chairman, for the purpose of framing a first draft of a platform, to which sub-committee all resolutions offered should be referred. This sub-committee consisted of Senator Lodge, Senator Teller, Governor Merriam of Minnesota; Mr. Fessenden of Connecticut; Governor Warmouth of Louisiana; Mr. Lauterbach of New York; Mr. Burleigh of Washington; Mr. Patterson of Illinois, and the chairman. All resolutions and communications to which I have referred were submitted to it when the money question was reached for consideration. Senator Teller offered the following as a substitute for all of them:

The Republican Party favors the use of both gold and silver as equal standard money, and pledges its power to secure the free, unrestricted and independent coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of sixteen parts of silver to one of gold.

After giving consideration to all that was offered, and after hearing all that Senator Teller desired to say in support of his proposition, the sub-committee rejected Senator Teller's proposition and a number of substitutes that he offered by a vote of eight to one, and decided not to accept, *in totidem verbis*, anything that had been placed before it, but to use, as far as it could, the Richards-Hanna resolutions because of their origin, making them more concise, however, and supplementing what was thus adopted by a more explicit statement with respect to the gold standard and omitting the declaration that the tariff was "paramount." Various members of the Committee prepared drafts intended to meet this purpose. Out of the whole of them they finally evolved and adopted the following:

The Republican Party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879, since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency now in circulation must be maintained

at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States, and all our money, whether coins or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the world.

After this resolution had been adopted in this form, and before the adjournment of the sub-committee, it was suggested and finally agreed that it should be amended by inserting after "international agreement" the words, "which we pledge ourselves to promote," as they are now found in the resolution, and they were accordingly interlined in lead pencil by Senator Lodge. Afterward, when the resolution was reported to the Committee, the words "now in circulation," occurring as above, were stricken out on the motion of Mr. La Follette of Wisconsin.

In this amended form the plank was adopted by the Committee and reported to the Convention and by it incorporated in the platform.

The truth is that the framing of this plank was, like the doing of most such things, not the work of any one man, but a mere expression of a common sentiment, in arriving at which all aided to whom the duty of formulating an expression had been assigned.

The subject was attracting general attention, and at such a time, with respect to such a subject, all intelligent and informed men will have views and are likely to formulate them, especially when called upon to take important action with regard thereto. The great silver debate in the Senate that preceded the Convention of 1896 had set the whole country to thinking and talking. The daily discussions of the newspapers were educating the people, and it was everywhere felt by the masses, as well as among the leaders, that the platform of 1896 must contain a more explicit declaration against free silver, and in favor of the maintenance of the gold standard, than the Republican Party had theretofore made; and therefore when the committee met at St. Louis it was found that there was practically no difference of opinion as to what should be done, but only differences as to the language that should be employed. The work of the Committee was but a work of phraseology more

than anything else, and because there was such a variety of phrases and statements presented, and so many members of the Committee to agree, the work was less perfectly done as a work of phraseology or rhetoric than it probably would have been done had any one of the members of the Committee been allowed to prepare the plank on his own responsibility and without interference or help.

But however that may be, it must be manifest that either Mr. Kohlsaat wrote the Richards-Hanna resolutions, which were adopted only in part, and that part not very important, and which did not explicitly enough declare for a maintenance of the existing gold standard to satisfy the Committee, or else he must have written, in the name of somebody else, that part of the plank that was adopted which was not taken from the Richards-Hanna resolutions. Every member of the sub-committee knows he did not do, and could not have done anything of the kind, for that part of the plank was framed, to the personal knowledge of each member of the sub-committee itself, from what had been submitted to it by others, and from what all its members knew was required to meet public sentiment, and was only what all, except Senator Teller, were anxious to say and would have said had they acted solely upon their own judgment without the help of outside advice or suggestion.

It is to be hoped that the claims of Mr. Kohlsaat to greatness and the gratitude of his countrymen rest upon something more substantial than the story that he was the author of the gold plank of the Republican platform of 1896; and it is especially to be hoped that his acquiescence, not to say complicity, in the claim that has been made for him in this regard is not to be taken as a measure of the virtues of that truly remarkable man.

Respectfully,

J. B. Foraker.

Cincinnati, Ohio, September 21, 1899.

This article on the gold plank prompted a great many people to write me words of congratulation on account of it.

Most of the letters I received contained references to Mr. Kohlsaat, who was at one time connected in some way with a bakery, that were so unkind, impolite and harsh as to be unprintable without the risk of giving him offense, but I received some of mild character in that respect, to which he would probably take no exception, one of which is the following:

LAS CRUCES, N. M., 12-6-9.

Dear Governor:—I am glad you slit the gullet of that d——d pastry cook. His gall is insufferable.

Yours,

SENATOR J. B. FORAKER, Washington.

JOHN J. INGALLS.

But in addition to the notice taken of the article by individuals in the form of letters, the newspapers got into a general discussion of the whole subject, which continued through several months. No one of these papers, however, except only Mr. Kohlsaat's, undertook, so far as I can recall, to defend his claims to authorship, or ascribed to him any special credit in connection therewith.

Most of the discussion was as to the claims of others to credit for what they had done to help, who were not mentioned in my article. Among these Senator Platt of New York, was prominently named as one entitled, as I have no doubt he was, to special credit for what he did, not before the Committee, for he did not appear there, but in conference with Senator Hanna and others.

While this discussion was at its height, December 23, 1899, William E. Curtis, a well-known newspaper man, whose word no one knowing him would question, then living in Washington, called at my residence and gave me the following history of the gold plank, dictated, as he informed me, by the Honorable Myron T. Herrick, at the date and in the presence of the gentlemen mentioned in the headlines of the article.

I did not at that time have occasion to make any use of it, but I think it due to history that I should here give it a place. Therefore, I insert it, headlines and all, precisely as Mr. Curtis gave it to me.

Las Cruces. N.M.
12.6.9.

Dear Governor: I am glad you slit the gullet of that d-d pastry cook.

His gall is insuffer-able.

Yours

Joh J. Ingalls.

Senator J. B. Foraker
Washn

HISTORY OF THE FINANCIAL PLANK OF THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1896.

STATEMENT DICTATED BY MYRON T. HERRICK, PRESIDENT, SOCIETY FOR SAVINGS, CLEVELAND, OHIO, MARCH 2, 1897.

IN THE PRESENCE OF J. W. MCCLYMONDS AND CHARLES M. RUSSELL, OF MASSILLON, OHIO.

The financial plank of the Republican platform at St. Louis was originally drawn by Major McKinley himself, and was handed to me by him one Sunday afternoon about three weeks before the Convention. As I do not have my copy with me, I cannot quote the exact language, but you will find in it the expression, "We favor the present standard of money," and it pledges the Republican Party "to make every dollar as good as gold." The Governor and I discussed it all that Sunday afternoon, and before I left Canton he had his secretary make two copies, one of which he gave to me and the other he asked me to hand to Mr. Hanna. He desired us to confer with the right sort of people about them, which we did, and they were very generally approved by everyone I showed them to. We carried them to St. Louis with us and I gave Senator Proctor a copy. Soon after we arrived in St. Louis Mr. Hanna, Mr. Payne of Wisconsin, and myself discussed Governor McKinley's plank at the dining table in the Southern Hotel while we were eating supper one evening, and we unanimously agreed to strike out the words, "sixteen to one," so that it would pledge the party to oppose the free coinage of silver on any basis whatever, sixteeen to one or thirty-two to one, and as amended it simply read, "We are opposed to the free coinage of silver."

I made it my business to gather in as many Republican leaders as possible and get their approval of this plank. My rooms were filled with people from morning to night, and that was the general topic of discussion. It was my business to see that the financial plank represented the views of Governor McKinley. Several propositions were submitted by various people and it was on Friday before the Convention met, I think, that we called a conference to consider them. Senator Proctor, Henry C. Payne of Wisconsin, and ex-Governor Merriam of Minnesota, came to my room by appointment. No other person was invited. We examined all the propositions that had been suggested, and we agreed unanimously that the plank which Governor McKinley prepared was the best. There were three forms of expressing the same idea. Each of them contained the word "gold," and at my request Judge Sanders of Cleveland, telegraphed them to Governor McKinley over our private wire and asked which he preferred. We did not receive his reply until the next morning, when he informed us that either expression would be satisfactory, but he preferred his own; and it was finally adopted and appears in the platform as he wrote it.

While we were consulting, Mr. Kohlsaat of Chicago, came in; not by invitation, but by accident. We were very glad to see him and told him what we had decided upon. He said that Governor McKinley had shown him the plank several weeks before at Canton and it suited him

exactly. Mr. Kohlsaat, however, did not have anything to do with the framing of the language, and if he made any suggestions or amendments they were not adopted. As we were breaking up, Mr. Kohlsaat suggested that we give the plank to the Associated Press. Everybody present objected on the ground that the Committee on Resolutions might be offended and reject it. I recollect saying that if I were a member of the Committee on Resolutions I would consider it an impertinence, and as we separated it was understood that the resolution was not to be given out. We were, therefore, very much surprised when we found it in all the morning papers with Mr. Kohlsaat's portrait, and that he was given the credit of the authorship. I called Mr. Kohlsaat to account and told him that he had been guilty of a violation of confidence which could not have been an accident or inadvertence, because he had heard everyone in the conference express his objections to having the plank published until it had been accepted by the Resolution Committee. At first he tried to bluff me off by saying that we had simply objected to giving it to the Associated Press, but had said nothing about the St. Louis newspapers. Finally he acknowledged that he had taken the responsibility in spite of our objections because he believed the publication was important and necessary to stimulate public confidence in Governor McKinley, and that such announcement would remove all doubt of his nomination. This explanation was not satisfactory, and Mr. Payne, Governor Merriam and myself prepared a statement of facts at the room of Governor Merriam at the St. Nicholas Hotel, which we intended to give to the newspapers. This statement was very severe upon Mr. Kohlsaat, as it represented him as not only violating our confidence, but claiming credit that did not belong to him. When Mr. Kohlsaat's friends found out that this statement had been prepared they persuaded us to suppress it, and I am glad that we did so, because it might have produced unfortunate dissensions among Governor McKinley's friends. The only newspaper men who received copies so far as I know were William E. Curtis, of the Chicago *Record,* and M. P. Handy, of Mr. Kohlsaat's paper.

Mr. Kohlsaat has always represented to me that he had never claimed the credit of writing the financial plank, and that the honor has been thrust upon him, although he knows perfectly well that I know differently. When a sketch of his life appeared in the *Review of Reviews,* written by Walter Wellman, his Washington correspondent, he wrote me a letter of apology, representing that Mr. Wellman had made the publication without consulting him, and had claimed for him the authorship of the gold plank without his authority or approval. I have not noticed, however, that Mr. Kohlsaat has ever made a public denial of Mr. Wellman's statements.

In addition to the money plank, there were a number of other declarations in the St. Louis platform, in the framing and adoption of which I took an active part and a special interest. These declarations had reference to a merchant

marine, the independence of Cuba, the annexation of Hawaii, the Monroe Doctrine and the Nicaragua Canal, and were as follows:

HAWAII AND THE NICARAGUAN CANAL.—Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous and dignified, and all our interests in the Western Hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States; and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaraguan Canal should be built, owned and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.—We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeals of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered with, and shall not interfere with, the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of European powers from this hemisphere and to the ultimate union of all the English-speaking part of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF CUBA.—From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American people to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the Island.

OUR MERCHANT MARINE.—We favor restoring the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in American ship yards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

These declarations were all in exact accord with some remarks I made at a banquet on the 22nd day of February, 1896, given by the citizens of Cincinnati in honor of my election to the Senate.

I quote from the speech made on that occasion as follows:

The time has come when there is an emphatic demand for a wise, broad, patriotic, progressive, aggressive American statesmanship. (Ap-

plause.) I do not like the idea of our being unable to step out at either our front door or back door, on the Atlantic or the Pacific side, without seeing England's flag floating from all the islands that meet our view, with her guns pointing wheresoever she will. When the Sandwich Islands come knocking at the door with a republican form of government and the American flag, I say let them in. (Applause.) When a civilized country turns civilized war into barbarism, as Spain is doing in Cuba, I say, in the name of this republic, and in the name of republican institutions everywhere, as well as in the name of civilization and Christianity, it is our mission to put a stop to it. (Great applause.) And if as a result the Stars and Stripes should come to float over that island, it would be no bad acquisition. (Applause.)

I want to see the Monroe Doctrine, recently so much talked about, upheld and enforced against all the world. (Applause.) And I shall stand by the administration that stands for America, be that administration Republican or Democratic. (Applause.)

I want to see our merchant marine restored. (Applause.) There was a time when our merchant marine was the pride of every American. It is today but a mortification to us all. We once carried ninety per cent. of our foreign trade in American bottoms, under the American flag. We now carry less than thirteen per cent. We are paying out annually more than $150,000,000 in gold to foreign ships for transportation of freights and passengers. The time has come to remedy that. The way to remedy it is not with subsidies and bounties, but by going back to the first principles practiced by George Washington and the founders of this Republic when they applied the principles of protection to the water as well as to the land. (Applause.)

I want to see the Congress of the United States provide that the fifty per cent. or more of imports that come into our country free of duty shall come in free, provided they come in American bottoms and under the American flag. (Applause.) I want to see it provided that the dutiable goods brought in American ships shall be allowed a rebate on that account. (Applause.)

And when we make these new reciprocity treaties, which we hope to make soon in the future, I want to see incorporated in every one of them a provision that the goods mentioned in the reciprocity treaty shall have the benefits of that provision, provided they are carried in the ships of the reciprocating countries. (Great applause.) When that shall be done, as done it can and should be, there will no longer be an elbowing by Great Britain of the American marine off the waters of the globe. (Applause.)

Shipbuilding will revive, and once again the flag of the United States will be seen floating in all the channels of trade and commerce. (Applause.) And then after that will follow easily and naturally what we should have had ere this, an American navy able to protect us, let come what may. (Applause.) When Mr. Cleveland sent to Congress his Venezuelan message it had more good results than one. One of its good results was to impress the American people with our defenseless situation. We should realize that the great wars of the future, if there be

any at all, with which we are concerned, are far more likely to be on the water than on the land. We should order accordingly. It is a patriotic duty to do it.

Then there is another thing. I do not want to stop to discuss all these things, but I read in the newspapers this morning just what I have been expecting for a long time. I read, as you probably did, that in the City of New York there was yesterday tendered by Europeans, the capital to build the Nicaragua Canal. Unless the United States of America build that canal somebody else will build it. (Voice of "That's so.") The commerce of the world demands it.

People will not any longer be content sailing ships from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast, to go ten thousand miles out of the way around the Horn, through tempestuous seas and inclement seasons. Every suggestion of patriotism commends us to do that work. (Applause.) I want to see the United States build it, and own it, and control it. (Applause.) Without any co-partnership with anybody, and without any other nation having any other right with respect to it, except only the right to use it for peaceful purposes, on payment of such tolls as we may see fit to levy. (Applause.)

I had previously and repeatedly expressed these same views in public speeches. No one knew better than Governor McKinley what I thought with respect to all these matters at the time when he urged me to attend the Convention that nominated him, and assist in the work of making a platform.

Everybody else had the same knowledge. I do not mention this because my views were peculiar, for they were not; they were entertained generally by the great majority of Republicans. They are mentioned only to show that everybody had full notice that if I lived to take my seat in the United States Senate, Cuba, Hawaii, the Monroe Doctrine, an American navy and merchant marine, and an interoceanic canal owned by us exclusively, and controlled by us exclusively, would each and all have there an unqualified friend and champion to the extent of whatever ability I might have.

No one had any right, therefore, to challenge my motives and charge me with unfriendly feeling for the administration when, one after another, all these questions arose in the Senate and pressed for consideration and settlement, and I in connection therewith unwaveringly adhered to the policies I had time and again outlined with respect to them

in the same general way in which I had spoken at the banquet, and had taken particular pains to pledge the party to in the platform on which we had come into power. But of all this when I get to it.

Going back to the Convention: When Ohio was reached on the call of the States for the nomination of candidates, I presented the name of Governor McKinley, and he was nominated on the first ballot.

What occurred at St. Louis is history with which all who read the daily papers at that time, or who have read the record of the official proceedings of the Convention, are familiar. But what happened at Canton in the little group of the family and immediate friends who surrounded the nominee in the hour of his triumph is not so well known, and yet it is even more interesting, because it adds a touch of nature to the majestic formality with which the excited and surging assemblage took the first step in the making of a new chief magistrate for the nation.

A newspaper man who was present wrote the account from which I quote as follows:

When it was announced that the nominating speeches were about to be made, the Major took his seat in a heavy arm chair, beside his working desk, with a pad of paper in his left hand and a pencil in his right. Behind him was the telephone apparatus with an expert, connected direct with the Convention Hall. Thus there were three avenues of lightning line service between the Major's office and the Convention Hall—the Postal and Western Union, and the Long Distance telephone.

The Major's face was grave. There were deep fires in his eyes, and his intellectual pallor, always noticeable, now gave his features the stern grace of carved marble. It is a fancy founded on fact that Major McKinley looks like Napoleon, but today he looked marvelously like Daniel Webster. . . .

Suddenly there came word almost at the same moment through the three wires, that Ohio had been called and that Foraker was making his way to the platform and was received with tremendous cheering; also that the hall was flooded with sunshine, welcoming the soldier-boy son of Ohio, about to nominate another soldier-boy and son of the modern mother of Presidents. The two boy-soldiers were famous ex-Governors of their State.

The word came in a moment that Foraker was about to speak. McKinley was asked whether Foraker's speech was probably prepared, and the Major said it was not, he supposed, written, but Foraker knew

very well the main things he was about to say, and was a keen, brilliant man, who knew how to make the best of the opportunities on the spot. The occasion for the inquiry as to the preparation Foraker had made was that one of the correspondents present had seen several of the nominating speeches in type and gave interesting information as to their length and character.

The young ladies in the parlor across the hall from the office had a look in which glee and distress were comically mingled, and the Major walked up to them, saying with gayety, "Are you young ladies getting anxious about this affair?"

They admitted that they were really nervous. The Major reassured them, and took his big chair, placing his silk hat on an adjacent table, and relapsing into meditation. For a minute his pale, fixed features showed he was thinking, perhaps as much of the far-off past as of the near and rising future, and no one disturbed his day-dream. This was just as Foraker was waiting for the storm of applause that greeted him to subside, so as to be allowed to go on with his speech.

It was 3:21 o'clock according to all the watches in the Major's room, when word came that at that moment Foraker pronounced the name of McKinley, and then came the tornado of applause, which lasted for nearly half an hour. There was a pause at our end of the wire, and the Major joined in the exchange of recollections with the veterans about the contests in cheering that distinguished the Convention of 1880 at Chicago, between the supporters of Grant and those of Blaine—the most celebrated of all the contests in cheering.

The Major stepped to the telephone and listened to the roar of the Convention at St. Louis. He heard it distinctly, and following his example, we could make out a vast tumult, struck through with shrill notes. It was like a storm at sea with wild, fitful shrieks of wind.

As time passed, and Foraker could not still the tempest he had raised, some one said he might not be able to regain the thread of his speech, and the Major remarked it was hard on a speaker to be held up in that way—it was like stopping a race horse in full career. But the Major said Foraker would come out of such a scene in triumph, and referred with warm admiration to his "gem of a speech" at the late Republican Convention. . . .

The message came, "Foraker is trying to resume his speech," and at this there was a smile. In another minute the telephone expert repeated Foraker's words about McKinley when he resumed, "You seem to have heard the name of my candidate before."

"Ah," said the Major, "that is like him. He knows what he is doing, and is all right. The interruption will not shake his speech." . . .

Suddenly the silence was abruptly broken by the announcement: "Alabama, 18 for McKinley."

Then figures came thick and fast, and challenges followed of the votes of several States.

Two or three present did not know what that meant, and the Major, clearly and carefully, with perfect command of every point raised, stated the situation.

"But why," the question was asked, "do they challenge the votes of States whose votes are not contested?"

"It is necessary," the Major explained, "that gentlemen should go upon the record if they care to do so; and," he added, "there are disputes between the delegates and the chairmen of the delegates who announce the figures and it can only be settled by polling the vote of the State."

The voice of the Major was not heard, a profound silence ensued, when the telephone gave forth, "the Alabama vote sustained." The Major smiled, and then, as the votes for him swelled into hundreds, he kept the count without a change of countenance—not even when the Ohio man next to him said: "The Ohio vote, now to be thrown in two or three minutes, will nominate you with a margin of a dozen, and that will please Ohio."

The recording angel, in the guise of a beautiful young lady in the hall, claimed that the Major's vote was more than it had been represented, and he quickly responded: "Be careful what you claim. We must have a fair count." . . .

The Ohio man next him threw down his pencil, saying: "There, that settles it; no more figures for me."

The Major looked up with an air of curiosity, saying: "Why are you no longer interested?"

The reply was: "Because the thing is done; let the boys cipher. The majority will be big enough. Major, I congratulate you. God bless you and give you all good gifts; and now you have just a quarter of a minute, before you are mobbed, to greet your wife and mother."

He quickly crossed the hall to the parlor, crowded with ladies; and, as his wife and mother were seated side by side, stooped low to kiss them and clasp their eager hands, the wife responding with a bright smile and a sweet exaltation in her eyes, as he told her that the vote of Ohio had given him the nomination; and the grand old mother, placing a trembling hand on her son's neck, and her eyes streaming with tears, brighter even than smiles, whispered to her illustrious boy some holy words for him alone.

At this moment the bells rang, the whistles blew, the cannon thundered, and beautiful Canton went stark, gloriously mad. The city, under a strong pressure, had kept quiet. There was a determination that there would be nothing done prematurely. Now the city blazed with bunting. There were whirring carriages, galloping horses, wheel men and women swift as the wind! There seemed to have been an organization, including all the men, women and children, to demonstrate instantly the moment the momentous signal was given.—Halstead's "Life of Wm. McKinley."

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1896.

IMMEDIATELY after the adjournment of the St. Louis Convention I returned to Cincinnati, where, on the evening of the next day, June 20th, a great ratification meeting was held in Music Hall. This was the first ratification meeting held in Ohio. I was asked to preside. In taking the chair I made some remarks with respect to the Convention, our platform and our candidate, and closed as follows:

Now I want to take advantage of this opportunity to say a word about another matter. I was very much edified as I rode home on the cars this evening by a cartoon that was published in one of the evening papers. It was a picture of what was called "A new white elephant," and labeled "Gold," and I was there, along with some other Republicans, worshipping this new white elephant, and the lesson sought to be taught was that the Republican Party had declared in its money plank for something new at St. Louis. This is not true.

The declaration of the Republican Party, as embodied in its money plank at St. Louis, defines exactly what has been the position of the Republican Party through all these years, with respect to this silver question. (Applause.) Silver was demonetized in 1873, and ever since that we have been on a single gold standard basis. About the same time several of the leading nations of Europe demonetized silver, and ever since that time an effort has been made to get back to bimetallism. We have had in that behalf three international monetary conferences, the object of them being to agree with other nations upon an international ratio, according to which we could have the free coinage of silver. But all these efforts have failed.

It has been constantly and repeatedly declared by both parties that bimetallism was desirable in preference to gold or silver monometallism. Both parties have agreed that we could maintain the parity of the two metals and bring about bimetallism again by an international agreement. Some people have insisted that in the meanwhile, if we could not do it that way, we could do it alone without regard to what other nations might see fit to do. The Republican Party has constantly, consistently and persistently stood up against that idea.

Four years ago, when we held the convention at Minneapolis, it was my fortune to be the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, as I was at the St. Louis Convention, and it was my fortune to be associated on that committee with Senator Teller. He and his associates from the silver states came to that convention and came before that committee, asking us to insert a plank pledging the Republican Party to the free coinage of silver. We refused to do it. We declared that we were in favor of international bimetallism, but that until that could be brought about it would be our policy to maintain silver at a parity with gold by issuing no more of it than could be maintained at a parity with gold.

They accepted the result and remained in the Republican Party. That declaration was simply a declaration, as the one adopted the other day was, that we would stand precisely where we were until we could do better. We were agreed that we could safely undertake to have bimetallism by international agreement; we were unwilling and refused to attempt it by free and independent coinage.

They did not feel called upon to go out of the party then; their consciences did not seem to trouble them so much then as now. They remained in the party four years longer. When the last session of Congress commenced, as a result of this Democratic free trade experiment, the government was found to have deficient revenues, not enough revenues to meet its current expenses. A bill was prepared in the House and passed that body without partisan division, almost, providing for an increase of revenue. That bill was known as the Dingley bill. It went to the Senate. The national credit, the national honor, the national life were at stake. These gentlemen said the bill was unobjectionable, but they refused to vote for it (that is, six of these gentlemen from silver states did) unless the great majority who did not agree with them would sacrifice their convictions and vote for the free, unlimited and independent coinage of silver. The great majority in the Senate would not be coerced by that minority.

That action upon the part of these people directed the attention of the country to that subject as it had not been directed before. And, therefore, when we met at St. Louis conditions were ripe, not for a different stand to be taken by the Republican Party, but for more explicit declarations than we had heretofore made, and, inasmuch as they had thrown down the gage of battle by demanding free silver and seeking to coerce us to accept, we concluded that was a good time to meet them half way, join issue and let the battle come on. (Applause.) They appeared before the committee, and were part of the committee, just as they were four years ago. They made the same demand; we made the same answer; but when we came to write the platform, we said, we will make it so plain all can understand, and so we declared that we were unalterably opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver until we can have an international agreement, and in the meantime we will preserve the existing gold standard. (Loud applause.)

(*At this point the Stamina League and other clubs marched in and interrupted the speaker. After the clubs had been seated Senator Foraker resumed his speech as follows:*)

To resume and conclude with a word, the point I was seeking to make was this: That when Senator Teller and his associates bolted the

party at the St. Louis Convention, they had no cause whatever that did not exist four years before at the Minneapolis Convention, and when the Republican Party made the declaration it did make at St. Louis, it did not change its position one particle, but simply made it absolutely certain, in order that there could be a settlement of that question, that the proposition for free, independent and unlimited coinage of silver is a proposition that we will not entertain. (Cheers and applause.)

We will not entertain it because, in our judgment, it does not, as Senator Teller and his associates claim, mean bimetallism, but simply silver monometallism. (Applause.)

According to a law as settled as the law of gravitation, the cheaper money always drives out the dearer. To have free, unlimited coinage of silver would mean to put the United States of America in the same class with Mexico, China and Japan, and so long as the Republican Party has control, the United States will never get into that class. (Cheers.)

We go into this fight, therefore, with our gallant standard bearer representing to the people of America protection to American industries, and American labor, and an absolutely sound dollar, with which to do our business. (Applause.) An absolutely sound dollar, not simply for the banker and the merchant, but for the wage-earner as well. (Cheers.) When a man does a full day's work he is entitled to have a full one hundred cents in the dollar with which he is paid, and we propose that he shall have it. (Applause.) We propose that the dollar we put into circulation—the metallic dollar—shall be worth one hundred cents in gold all over the world—no matter whether it carries the eagle and superscription or not. Take a silver dollar and pound it into bullion and it is worth fifty-four cents; take a gold dollar and pound it into bullion and it is worth one hundred cents all over the world. (Applause.) Nobody is cheated by that kind of a dollar; nobody is misled by it; no distrust is excited; everybody has confidence in it; and when Governor McKinley shall have been elected prosperity will at once come again, because that will insure a protective tariff, reciprocity and a sound currency. (Great applause and cheers.)

I was particular to put the money plank to the front as the paramount question of the campaign, and to show that we had not taken a new position with respect to it, because there had already sprung up a great difference of opinion among Republicans as to whether the tariff question or the money question was to be the leading issue; and because it was charged that we had changed our position and, having taken a new position, every dissatisfied Republican was at liberty to go with his party or against it, as he might prefer.

This diversity of opinion went on until the *Commercial Tribune* interrogated and published the answers of the leading Republicans of the country on the subject.

It is interesting to note at this time some of these answers. A facsimile of Senator Hanna's answer was published at the head of the column. It was as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, July 14, 1896.

Editor Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, Cincinnati:

In my judgment financial issue should not overshadow protection in this campaign.

M. A. HANNA.

Senator Fairbanks answered:

I regard the tariff and currency as the leading issues. Neither should be neglected at the expense of the other. I would keep both well to the front.

Senator T. C. Platt answered:

In my opinion the money question cannot be made the chief issue of the present campaign. It will make itself the chief issue. Party managers and party organs will not be able to turn the campaign into any other channel.

Governor Bradley of Kentucky said:

The sad and bitter experience of the people of the United States during the last few years renders discussion of the tariff in a large degree unnecessary. The money question is the all-absorbing, living, burning issue. It involves not only the prosperity, but the honor of the country. You ask, "Shall it be made the chief issue?" It is the chief issue. The crisis is upon us and must be met bravely by patriotic men in every party.

I answered:

I would not disparage the tariff question; that is always important, and especially so now, when our revenues are insufficient to meet the government's expenses, but all Republicans are in favor of the Republican policy of protection, and most Democrats. There is not, therefore, any commanding issue with respect to the question.

It is different as to the money question. This is in an important sense a new question; the people are not educated in regard to it; they do not fully understand it, and there is much error being taught about it. People are talking of it and wanting light upon it. It is uppermost in everybody's mind. In view of this fact, and considering its vital importance, I regard it as the controlling question in the campaign upon which we are entering. I think it should be discussed by speakers and newspapers, and I congratulate the *Commercial Tribune* for the stand it has taken.

J. B. FORAKER.

I continued active in the campaign until I went abroad, sailing from New York August 19th. I was gone only about four weeks.

My last speech before sailing was made at Columbus, Saturday, August 15th. Senator Sherman and ex-Governor Stewart L. Woodford of New York were also present, and each made a capital good speech.

I discussed the financial question as the most important question of the campaign, treating it as I had at the ratification meeting.

In my preliminary remarks leading up to that discussion I called attention to the fact that Mr. Bryan had been nominated not only by the Democratic Party, but also by the Populistic and the Free Silver Conventions, and then proceeded as follows:

> Who were the prominent actors in those conventions? Who were the men there representing constituencies and claiming to have a new light about finances? Who were the profound constitutional lawyers and the wise financiers of these bodies? I want to read you a few of their names that I thought of today as I came up here. . . .
>
> Well, there was Governor Altgeld and "Pitchfork" Tillman. (Laughter.) And along with them as the next chief actor on that side of the convention was this man, who, when last heard from, was threatening "to blow the livers and lights" out of the federal troops if Cleveland should send them to Texas, as he had sent them into Chicago to suppress the riots there. I refer to Governor Hogg. (Applause and laughter.) Altgeld, Tillman and Hogg! (Renewed applause and laughter.)
>
> And then when the Populists assembled the chief instrumentalities for good there were "Cyclone" Davis from Sulphur Spring, Texas. (Long continued laughter.) He made at least three speeches at every session of the convention, and he was ably seconded by "Stump" Ashley and "Buffalo" Jones, and "Commonweal" Coxey; then last, but not least, Mary Ellen Lease. (Long continued applause and laughter.) There you have it. Senator Hill of New York, Governor Russell of Massachusetts, and men of that character, men of ability, men of good record, men of their belief, tried in that convention to keep it from making the fatal mistake it did make, but all in vain. The votes, if not the brains of those conventions belonged to the Cyclone Davises and the Buffalo Joneses and the Mary Ellen Leases. (Applause.)
>
> Now, my fellow citizens, I would rather take the judgment of John Sherman on a financial proposition than the judgment of Mary Ellen Lease. (Great laughter and applause.) I would rather, on a profound constitutional or financial question, follow Benjamin Harrison than "Pitchfork" Tillman. (Continued laughter and applause.) I would

rather trust Governor Bushnell than Governor Hogg (cheering), no matter how fat he may be. (Laughter.) And I would rather follow the leadership of the gallant Governor McKinley (long continued cheering) with all these great representatives of sound money, sound protection, sound patriotism and sound everything else, supporting him, than "the Boy Orator of the Platte," especially with such people controlling him. (More cheering and applause.)

Now, my fellow citizens, don't you think, just on the face of the case, that the issue ought to be decided in our favor?

And yet I am going to talk with you about this issue a little bit; not very long. It is pretty warm here this afternoon. (Voices of "Go on.") Well, I shall. You are not done with me yet. I am going to talk with you about that issue for a little while, notwithstanding what has been so well said by Senator Sherman. I want to talk to you about it in the first place to the end that we may understand just what that issue is; and I am a little bit particular about that because I read a day or two ago—and it took me a day or two to do it—the speech of acceptance made by "the Boy Orator of the Platte" when he was notified in New York. It filled eight columns in the Cincinnati *Enquirer,* close print. I read every word of it, and when I got done with it, I didn't know much more about the money question, but I thought I knew why he was called "the Boy Orator of the Platte." Geography tells us that the Platte is a very peculiar river; that it is a thousand miles long and only six inches deep. (Long continued laughter and cheering.)

As I closed the reading of that speech I had another thought about him. I thought "Mr. Bryan made himself by one speech, and now he has unmade himself by one speech. (Applause.) No man will ever be made President of the United States upon that speech." (Renewed applause.)

I took my vacation chiefly on account of my health, which was suffering seriously from the effects of the overstrain of the Convention and the numerous meetings I was called upon to address immediately following. But I took that particular form of recreation because my three daughters had gone abroad in May preceding, and I desired, in addition to the ocean voyage, to join them for a short visit in London and Paris, and then return with them.

My only regret in connection with the trip was that Mrs. Foraker was unable to accompany me, but later, in 1910, she made up for this by taking what was called the Mediterranean trip, accompanied by my two sons, Benson and Arthur, the eldest and the youngest of the family, who, although there was a difference of almost twenty years in their ages, were most companionable and made a splendid

escort not only as protectors, but as contributors to the pleasure of the trip.

I never before crossed the ocean and have never crossed since. I enjoyed the trip very much and was greatly benefited. There was so much to see and my time was so limited, that I was constantly on the go, spending one week in London and one week in Paris.

Never having had any such an experience, I went to the bank in London, on which I had a letter of credit, to present it and get some funds, with some trepidation as to how I should identify myself.

No one except my son was with me and I had no London references. I was greatly surprised, therefore, when, on passing in my letter of credit, the man behind the banking counter who took it merely glanced at my signature and, without asking for any identification, commenced immediately to count out the money it called for. As he did so, however, he gave me a second surprise by blurting out the inquiry, "And what are the chances of McKinley?" His pronunciation was as though the words were spelled: "And what are the *chonces* of *Muckinle?*" with the accent on "Muck." His pronunciation was so unlike ours that I found it difficult to understand his inquiry, and I was compelled to ask him to repeat it more than once before I could understand what he was saying.

He then told me that on account of the money question, Englishmen, especially in banking circles, were taking an unusual interest in our approaching election.

Campaign of 1896.

My first meeting after my return was at Jackson, Ohio. It was estimated that there were fully 20,000 people present, and I do not think the number was exaggerated.

I found that by this time everybody was becoming well informed on the money question, and that all classes were sufficiently educated to make it unnecessary to go into tedious explanations and details in addressing the average political meeting.

I made a number of speeches in Ohio, and then went into other States, speaking in New York and several of the New England States, also in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri.

Returning to Ohio, my closing work of the campaign was in the northern part of the State, my last speech being at Canton, where I visited McKinley on the Saturday before the election and was by him introduced to a large audience assembled in front of his residence. He had not traveled about any in the campaign, but had been almost constantly addressing delegations that called upon him from various parts of the country. In this way he kept abreast with the discussions of the campaign and constantly had something new in the papers for the people to read. His speeches were all "safe and sane," yet full of spirit and inspiration. Only Harrison, in 1888, of all the Republican candidates I have known anything about, did as much by his speeches to help his cause as McKinley did in 1896. His speeches were all short, very readable and each presented clearly some point which, if not new, was, at least, newly garbed for the occasion.

I found him at the close of the campaign apparently in perfectly good health, perfectly confident and as near perfectly happy as it is possible, I imagine, for any human being to be in this life.

Sherman Appointed Secretary of State.

A few days after the election I found it necessary to go to Cleveland to argue a case pending there. I took advantage of the opportunity to call on Senator Hanna. In the course of the conversation that ensued, he greatly astonished me by telling me that he was very anxious to have McKinley appoint Senator Sherman Secretary of State, and that in such event, he wanted to succeed Senator Sherman in the Senate, and desired me to intercede for him with Governor Bushnell, to secure the appointment to fill the vacancy until the next election. I was still more surprised to learn from him that he had already talked the matter over with

McKinley, and that McKinley favored the program, providing they could bring Governor Bushnell to the support of it with an agreement to appoint Hanna to the vacancy, and that they had allotted to me the work of bringing him into line.

I was greatly embarrassed, because, unwilling to commit myself at once, I found it difficult to say "No" to what had evidently been fully determined upon.

Until Mr. Hanna suggested it on that occasion I had never thought of him in connection with the Senatorship.

I learned recently from Mr. Croly's book, for the first time, that he had been cherishing a senatorial ambition for many years. Mr. Croly tells us that in January, 1892, Mr. Hanna, while in Columbus conducting Mr. Sherman's candidacy for re-election in opposition to my candidacy, had a confidential talk with Mr. James H. Dempsey, a friend and his attorney, from Cleveland, in which they discussed

> many things, such as Sherman's lively and persistent ambition to be President and of his career in the Senate.
>
> During their conversation Mr. Hanna said, "Jim, there is one thing I should like to have, but it is the thing I can never get." When asked what it was, he replied, "I would rather be Senator in Congress than have any other office on earth."
>
> He said this with great feeling, adding that he had never betrayed his ambition to any other person.

While not doubting the statement of Mr. Dempsey, yet I am surprised by it, because it had always been Senator Hanna's boast that he did not want any political recognition of any kind, and especially did not want any political office. I had not, therefore, had occasion to consider his qualifications for the position, and when suddenly confronted with the necessity for doing so, it was at a time when I did not think him very well endowed in that respect. I had known him as a successful business man, a generous contributor to campaign funds, as a good political organizer, and as an effective, hard-working supporter of other men, and as having power to employ persuasive methods "to bend them to his will," to use Senator Sherman's expression, but I had

never heard of him making a speech of any kind, anywhere, on any subject. I knew he did not profess to have any knowledge of law, either domestic or international, or any experience in public affairs; naturally from all this it seemed to me when first presented like a mistake to substitute him for Senator Sherman, whose name was a synonym of complete fitness for a position he had so greatly honored, and that it would be wiser and better to put him at the head of one of the great business departments of the government.

I knew Mr. Hanna also as a successful Chairman of our National Committee in the contest just ended, who had raised a large sum of money and used it helpfully. The campaign funds so raised and disbursed by Mr. Hanna were estimated at the time to amount to six or seven millions of dollars; but Mr. Croly states in his life of Mr. Hanna, apparently speaking from the official record, that the total sum amounted to only about three and one-half millions of dollars.

Assuming that this statement is correct, though I know there are many who would challenge it, the amount was sufficiently large to make a very popular man out of any distributor of it, no matter how unselfishly he might use it.

I did not realize that this office and this work had given him the prominence and the influence he had acquired, for at that time it seemed to me that, with the New York *World*, the New York *Post*, the Philadelphia *Times*, the Philadelphia *Record*, the New York *Sun*, and fully one-half the leading Democratic and independent newspapers of the country bolting Bryan and supporting McKinley, his election was assured from the start, and that he would have been successful even if there had not been anything extraordinary done by the National Committee.

In fact, I never had the slightest doubt from the day Bryan was nominated on a free silver platform about his defeat; but people generally did not stop after the election to analyze conditions and apportion credit. All who were in responsible relation to the campaign, and especially

Mr. Hanna, the Captain-General of the whole organization, were given unqualified praise for what had been accomplished.

This made him at once a great man before the country and a leader of unusual influence in his party.

President McKinley clearly perceived and properly appreciated all this. In addition he knew more of the mental equipment and general fitness of Mr. Hanna for the position to which he aspired than I did; and he especially knew more at that time than I did of the value in the Senate, in connection with committee work, and acting generally in an advisory character, of a strong man of good, sound, business judgment. Particularly so, if possessed at the same time of the intimate and accurate knowledge of political leaders and situations throughout the country, such as Mr. Hanna had acquired from his experience as chairman, added to what had gone before.

But I did not find it necessary to demur on account of anything personal to Mr. Hanna himself and avoided doing so, for one of the first thoughts that came to my mind was, that it would be a mistake to appoint Mr. Sherman to be Secretary of State, especially at that particular time, and in my talk with Mr. Hanna I confined myself to that point.

To begin with, the Shermans were soldiers and financiers and executives, rather than diplomats; but in the next place, and more particularly, it was well known that on account of the Cuban situation, we were likely to have serious international complications on account of which the whole country was interested in having at the head of the State Department a man who, as to both his mental and physical qualities, was of strong and virile character.

I had observed first at the Zanesville Convention where Mr. Sherman was presiding, that his memory was failing him. On other occasions, subsequently, and especially during the campaign of 1896, I had observed again even more pronounced evidences of that fact. He had difficulty in recalling the names of friends whose faces were to him perfectly familiar. My attention was directed to his

failing memory by his requests that I would repeat to him the names of persons with whom I knew him to be well acquainted.

There was nothing, however, to indicate that, with time to think, his reasoning faculties or his decisions about public questions were not as sound as they ever had been. His speech at Columbus, August 15th, was a very able effort—worthy of his best days. Mr. Kerr, in his life of Sherman, quotes a number of very ably written letters and papers to show his mental faculties were practically unimpaired until the end of his life. He might have gone on doing faithful and efficient work in the Senate for years, but to put him at the head of a great department, with the work of which he was not familiar, at a critical time, was to subject him to a tax, both mentally and physically, that no man should have been asked to assume who was not in prime condition every way.

I made all this as plain to Mr. Hanna as I could, but without avail. "A man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still." I discovered that I was arguing with exactly that kind of a man, and was glad when it came time to tell him I would think the matter over more carefully, find out what the Governor might be willing to do, end my call and get away.

I felt so troubled over the matter that, instead of returning immediately to Cincinnati, I went to Canton and called upon McKinley and talked the matter over with him, telling him what Senator Hanna had said and of the distrust I had of the wisdom of such a program, but I found him so thoroughly committed to the plan that he, too, at once commenced an earnest defense of it, by which I was admonished that anything I might say would probably be unavailing, as it was. Nevertheless I felt it my duty to state to him fully, and did so, the fear I had that Mr. Sherman would not make a successful Secretary of State at that important juncture of our national affairs, and that to appoint him might make trouble later, and of a character he could not afford. I further told him that, as Senator Hanna knew, and as he doubtless knew, there was some

friction between Governor Bushnell and Senator Hanna and their respective friends, and had been since the Zanesville Convention, at which Senator Hanna had so vigorously opposed the Governor's nomination, on account of which Governor Bushnell might not want to appoint Mr. Hanna to fill the vacancy, if one should be created, and that it might prove very embarrassing to me to undertake to induce him to do so, because the Governor had other friends who would try, I was sure, to have him appoint somebody else.

I returned to Cincinnati in a troubled and meditative mood. I concluded I would think the whole matter over most carefully before saying anything to anybody; but before I had a chance to do this, the newspapers got an inkling of what was proposed, and day after day there appeared from Washington, Canton and other places telegrams having reference to the matter; some of them truthful, others untruthful, and all of them, taken together, having a mischief-making effect.

Finally I ventured to talk with Governor Bushnell on the subject. I found him in about the frame of mind I had indicated to McKinley.

Before I reached the point where I felt like talking further with Senator Hanna, I got a letter from him, which I am now unable to find; but, as shown by my answer, it was a letter urging me to secure some kind of definite promise from the Governor with respect to his appointment. Being unable to answer him satisfactorily, I delayed writing him for a few days, when I heard from him again. I then wrote him the following letter:

January 25, 1897.

My Dear Mr. Hanna:—I have delayed answering your second letter until now in the hope that I might be able to say something definite. In that I am disappointed, and to be frank with you, I do not know what to write now, except only that I am sure no appointment will be made until Senator Sherman resigns, and a vacancy is created. In that event the Governor will of course determine what action to take, but he seems unwilling to commit himself in advance of that contingency.

In a talk I had with him Saturday night over the telephone he says that he has a letter from Senator Sherman, in which the Senator tells him that he has been tendered the office of Secretary of State, and that

he has signified his willingness to accept it, and that in all probability he will resign his office as Senator March 5th, next, but that he will not resign until he has been appointed and confirmed.

A gentleman, in whose statements I have implicit confidence, told me yesterday that in a conversation he had with Senator Sherman recently—within the last two or three days—the Senator said that unless Governor Bushnell would promise in advance to allow him (Senator Sherman) to name his successor, he will withdraw his acceptance of the Portfolio of State, and remain in the Senate.

From the same gentleman I learned that there is much dissatisfaction among leading and thoughtful Republicans at Washington, particularly in the Senate, over the appointment of Senator Sherman; not that they dislike him, but because they are of the opinion I expressed to you when I talked with you in your office, and you told me of the proposition to appoint Senator Sherman Secretary of State, viz.—that he is a failing man mentally as well as physically, and not on that account possessed of the mental vigor requisite for the head of the State Department at this serious juncture of our foreign affairs, and that there is a strong movement contemplated to induce Senator Sherman to reconsider his acceptance both for the good of the country and the party.

In view of all this, I do not know what to think, or what to do, and yet some points are very plain to me.

In the first place, the Governor can not be asked to consider the question of an appointment until a vacancy occurs.

In the second place, if Senator Sherman takes the position of Secretary of State he will not, even in that event, tender his resignation until March 5th.

In the third place, at the time when this vacancy occurs we will all be in Washington, and we can there have a conference in regard to the matter, and determine what may be the best thing to do.

I am of the opinion, therefore, that a conference at this time, such as you suggest, would be unavailing, and on this account as well as others I might name, I am disposed to forego the pleasure of the visit you have asked me to make you, and to suggest that we simply stand still and await developments until we all meet in Washington, at which time we will have full information, and perhaps no trouble of any kind.

Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.

Mr. Hanna's response has also disappeared from my files, but the following letter indicates that he was very prompt in sending it, and also indicates that trouble was brewing and that I was meeting with precisely the embarrassment I had foreseen:

Hon. M. A. Hanna, January 29, 1897.
Cleveland, Ohio.

My Dear Mr. Hanna:—I have your letter of the 28th inst. My suggestion about a conference had reference to your request that I meet you at Columbus at the Legislative Banquet. I was assuming

at that time that Senator Sherman would at once send in his resignation to take effect March 4th. Since I wrote that letter the Senator has written the Governor, saying he will not tender his resignation until after he has been appointed and confirmed, and the Governor says, very properly I think, that he will not consider the question of an appointment until there is a vacancy. The result of all this is that we shall be in Washington before there is occasion to do anything, and inasmuch as we can see each other there, if it be necessary, without inconvenience or exciting comment, I thought it well to wait until then.

I have not communicated with the Governor on this subject, since I last wrote you, and do not, therefore, have anything new from him.

I do not know what the truth is as to what is occurring at Washington, or as to what the Senator said, but I gave you the reports exactly as they came to me for whatever they might be worth, and just at the time when I wrote you these reports were being confirmed by telegrams from Washington published from day to day in the *Enquirer*. But for all these matters I do not care anything, except only to keep the record straight with respect to them.

I appreciate your suggestion that you would like to know at as early a day as possible whether or not you are to be appointed, and I would be glad to answer the question for you, but I am not able to do so; neither is anybody else, except the Governor, and he doesn't see fit to say to me, or so far as I know to anybody else, what he will ultimately do. The truth is, he seems to be quite as unapproachable about this matter as the President was about Sherman's appointment.

It may seem strange to you that Governor Bushnell should take such a position, but I assure you it seems equally strange to me that the President should have appointed Senator Sherman without any reference to you or anybody else, when, as you informed me, you desired him to follow exactly the program he has, and told me that you intended to talk both with him before going to Washington, and with Senator Sherman after you got there, and then communicate with me as to the results after your return home. Failure to do this, and making the appointment without consultation, or understanding, with anybody, have precipitated a situation that prevents Governor Bushnell, as nearly as I can make out his opinion of it, from considering you, except upon the theory that he does not "dare," to use the flashing head lines of the Canton correspondent, to do anything else. His self-respect rebels against such an idea, and all his friends are made to feel like resenting it.

In consequence we have conditions that were unforeseen, and with respect to which I can not make any promises, or take any responsibility.

All this may change before the time for action comes, but whether or not it will, you can judge as well as I.

I am quite as anxious as you for party harmony and success, and I trust we shall have both, for I do not imagine that the Governor in discharging his duty will do anything that will afford a just ground for preventing either.

Very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.

Hon. M. A. Hanna,
Cleveland, Ohio.

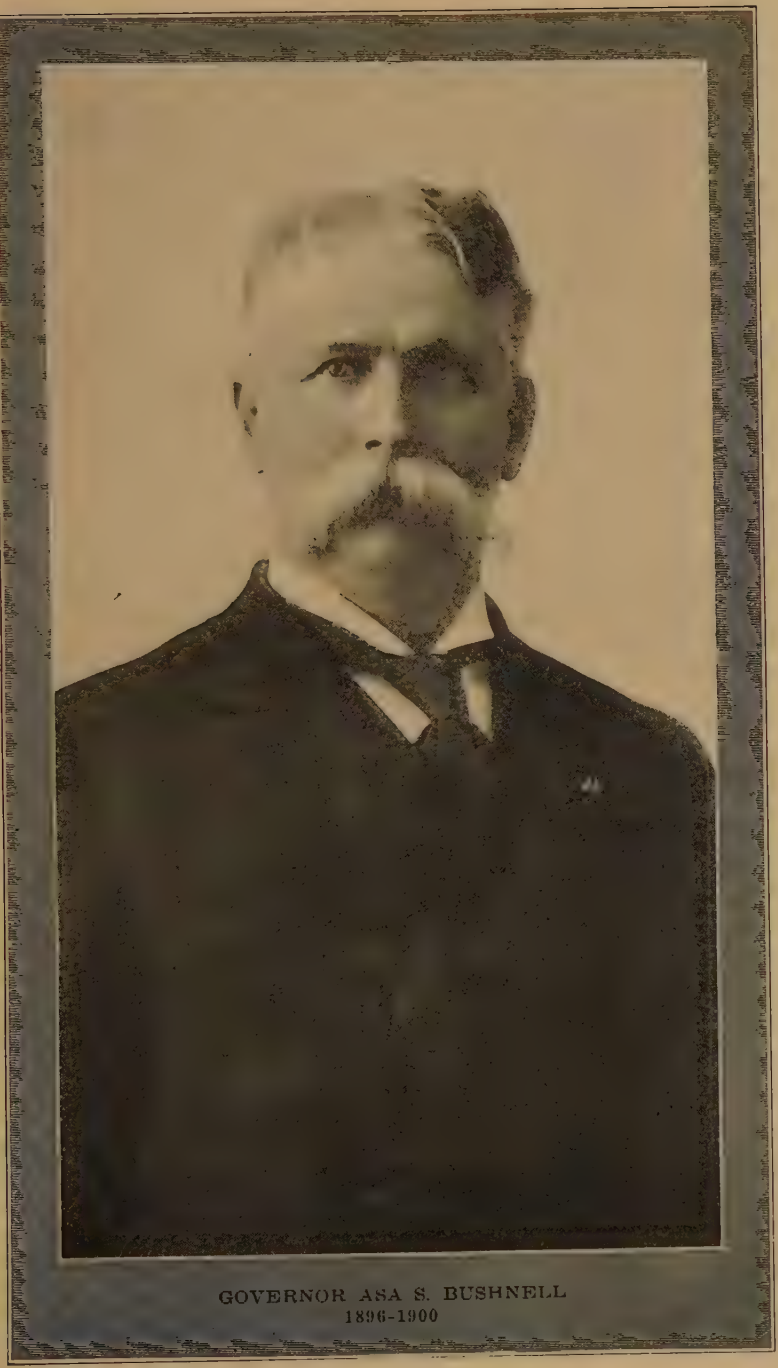
This is a disagreeable chapter in Ohio politics, not only because of the embarrassments caused by the plan agreed upon by the President and Mr. Hanna for putting Mr. Sherman in the Cabinet and Mr. Hanna in the Senate, but also, and because of the unfortunate results that followed, so far as Mr. Sherman was concerned.

Governor Bushnell's friends and all my friends were displeased with the proposition. Mr. Hanna's attitude during the campaign of 1889 and his rather boastful proclamation given in a New York interview, that he was entitled to credit for having defeated me and "driven me out of politics," followed by his opposition to my candidacy for Senator in 1891-2 were still fresh and rankling in the warlike minds of thousands of good Republicans, who were not afraid of battle. To all such the proposition seemed like a piece of impudence and effrontery. As I now recall those troublesome days, the Governor and I were about the only ones who kept our temper and tried earnestly to bring about some satisfactory result.

In this emergency we discussed various men, among others Senator Burton, then a Member of Congress from Cleveland.

At one time Governor Bushnell authorized me to speak to Mr. Burton on the subject, and to say to him that, if agreeable, he would appoint him. I had such a conference with Mr. Burton, but he for some reason seemed unable to make up his mind about it.

At last we reached the conclusion that, while Senator Hanna had no claim on either Governor Bushnell or myself for such recognition, yet in view of the President's desires and the importance of having harmony in the party at home and with the administration at Washington, it was better to yield. Thereupon, February 21st, Governor Bushnell wrote Senator Hanna to that effect, thus ending what Mr. Croly says was for Mr. Hanna an "agony of suspense." I suppose, since Mr. Croly so states, that Mr. Hanna had been in "agony" over the matter, but I would have thought the word too strong even on that authority



GOVERNOR ASA S. BUSHNELL
1896-1900

if Mr. Dempsey had not told us that during all the years of his proclaimed unselfish service to the party he was secretly cherishing a Senatorial ambition.

Accordingly, when Mr. Sherman resigned to accept the State portfolio, as he did immediately after his confirmation on March 5th, Mr. Hanna was appointed to succeed him.

In this whole matter Governor Bushnell had acted most generously and most kindly toward all concerned. That Mr. Hanna would, under all the circumstances, ask such a recognition at the hands of Governor Bushnell, and that he would appeal to me to use my influence with the Governor to secure it was unexpected and the cause of much irritation and resentment upon the part of thousands of as good Republicans as there were in Ohio, who indignantly protested to Governor Bushnell against the appointment by letter, telegram and otherwise.

That Governor Bushnell, under such circumstances, and particularly when Senator Sherman wrote him that he would not resign until after he was confirmed as Secretary of State, should hesitate and delay until, if possible, he could bring about some satisfactory solution of the trouble, will appear, I am sure, to every unbiased mind, as only natural and entirely justifiable; but Mr. Croly says that the Governor's action in thus delaying was only because of a desire to avoid altogether, if he could, making the appointment; that his final favorable action was because "he did not dare refuse." Of the delay in delivering to Senator Hanna his commission after he had determined to appoint him, he says:

> Various reasons have been suggested for the Governor's delay in issuing the commission, of which, perhaps, the most plausible is that Mr. Hanna's colleague *(myself)* wished to be technically the Senior Senator from Ohio.

That this kind of chaff is intended only for the "marines" is manifest from the fact that I had been the Senator-elect for more than a year and there was no vacancy for which Mr. Hanna could be qualified except only that to be created

by the retirement of Mr. Sherman, and Mr. Sherman refused to retire until after I was sworn and in my seat.

Mr. Kerr, in his life of Senator Sherman, says on this point:

> He desired to hold his seat until the beginning of the extra session of the Senate, so that he might extend the usual courtesy to Governor Foraker, whose Senatorial term would begin at noon on the fourth of March.

Senator Sherman remained in his seat and showed me the usual courtesies, escorting me to the bar of the Senate to be sworn, entirely on his own motion. Neither I nor any friend of mine ever spoke a word to him on the subject.

It was not, therefore, possible for Senator Hanna to be inducted into office ahead of me in point of time so as to become thereby the "senior Senator." So far as I was personally concerned, I never had any thought on the subject so far as I can now recall. I am not surprised, however, to learn from such suggestions that the thought was in the minds of some of the Senator's friends, but I am sure it never occurred to him, or if it did, that it did not appeal to him, since, otherwise, judging from other experiences, he would not have hesitated to request me to delay my induction until after his ambition in that respect could be also realized; and, judging in like manner, if I had yielded, we would have been told by Mr. Croly that I did so only because "I didn't dare to do otherwise."

Mr. Sherman had the confidence of the business interests of the country to an unusual degree, and his appointment to the first place in the Cabinet produced a favorable impression for the incoming administration. He entered upon the duties of his office at a troublesome time. Matters in Cuba grew constantly worse. Daily, almost, some vexatious question arose for solution by the State Department. It was not long before Cabinet meetings were devoted almost exclusively to the consideration of international problems, about which Mr. Sherman, as the head of the State Department, was expected to be fully informed. The work proved too much for him.

The Assistant Secretary of State was the Honorable William R. Day of Canton, Ohio, now a Justice of the Supreme Court. He was a life-long friend of the President. It was natural for the President, under such circumstances, to confer with him more and more, rather than with Mr. Sherman.

Retirement of Mr. Sherman.

As the weeks and months went by Mr. Sherman noticed that he was not conferred with and deferred to with respect to the important matters he had in charge to the full extent he thought he should be. He felt offended. Just what may have been said by him to the President or by the President to him, I do not know, but I do know that no one in Washington official life was surprised when, finally, upon the declaration of war with Spain, Mr. Sherman tendered his resignation and the President accepted it.

Mr. Sherman continued to reside in Washington most of the time until his death, in October, 1900. During all the time he was in the Cabinet and thereafter until his death he never lost an opportunity to show me the warmest friendship and the strongest good will. He did not come very often to the Senate Chamber, but he visited there a number of times during this period. In each instance, when I did not happen to see him as he entered, he at once sent a page to notify me he was there and to request me to come and sit with him on a sofa in the rear of the Senators' seats, provided for the accommodation of those entitled to the privileges of the floor.

On no one of these occasions did he ever speak to Mr. Hanna or ever speak of him, so far as I am aware, except only once, when he asked me if Senator Hanna was then in the chamber. The Senator was in his seat and I pointed him out to him, but he did not ask to see him or speak to him on that occasion or engage in any conversation whatever in regard to him. He came several times to my residence. He was always extremely cordial and talked much about the business of the Senate, its agreeable

character and how much he had enjoyed his service there. But he never, at any time, except in the one instance mentioned, made any inquiry about Senator Hanna or mentioned his name in any connection whatever; neither did he ever, on any occasion, speak of the President or his administration or any of the policies he was pursuing. He was always, in his conversation with me, as silent with respect to both and what they were doing, as though he had never heard of either.

I know, however, from others with whom he did talk, that he felt deeply offended and that, when he took occasion to speak on the subject, he usually said, what for him were very bitter things. I know that his family shared this feeling to such extent that when I attended his funeral at Mansfield I was told by one of the relatives that some flowers had been sent from the White House and that they had refused to receive them.

Having heard all this, I was less surprised than I would otherwise have been when, on the first day of March, 1902, while en route from Washington to New York, I met on the train General Nelson A. Miles, whose wife was a daughter of Judge Charles T. Sherman, the Senator's brother, and was told by him that he had been carrying in his pocket for some time an autograph letter written by Mr. Sherman to somebody, he did not know to whom, but for some reason not mailed to the party for whom it was intended, but carefully filed with other papers that were to be made public after his death; that he was authorized to give it to me for such use as I might see fit to make of it. He then produced the following letter, which on my return to Washington I placed in an envelope, where until now it has ever since remained, on which envelope I indorsed "The within letter delivered to me by General Miles on train en route to New York, March 1, 1902."

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 8, 1898.

My Dear Sir:—Your note of the 6th inst. is received and I give you my hearty thanks. No doubt I ought to have remained in the Senate during my term, which would not have expired until the 4th of March next. At that time I regarded McKinley as a sincere and ardent friend whom I had assisted and whose election I had promoted. When he

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Very truly Yours
John Sherman

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Very truly yours,
JOHN SHERMAN.

I never made any use of this letter and would not make any use of it now except only that I have seen within the last two or three years a number of flat denials that there was ever any ill feeling on the part of Mr. Sherman such as he here expresses. Mr. Croly indulges in what is apparently rather tortuous and troublesome speculation on the subject.

History is entitled to the truth and especially to Mr. Sherman's own statement upon that precise point, apparently written and left behind by him for use in just the contingency these denials have created.

MY ESTIMATE OF MR. SHERMAN.

Here Mr. Sherman practically drops out of these notes so far at least as any special mention may be concerned.

It seems appropriate, therefore, that I should now record my estimate of him as given in an address made at the celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Admission of Ohio to the Union, held at Chillicothe, the first capital of the State, May 20, 1903. My subject was "Ohio in the Senate." After referring to the whole line of Senatorial representatives preceding him and contemporary with him, I said:

It is no disparagement of anyone and no exaggeration of the truth to say that, of all the many able men who have represented Ohio in national affairs, John Sherman is *facile princeps*.

Others reached the Presidency, and some of them, through fortuitous circumstances and opportunities, may have attained greater popularity and a more commanding place in history, but no other stood so long on the "perilous heights."

No other was tried in so many ordeals. No other was called upon to deal with so many and such difficult questions. No other showed such varied powers of adaptation to rapidly changing and widely different conditions, and no other so completely and uninterruptedly commanded the confidence and enjoyed the respect of the whole American people as a wise, safe and capable leader and statesman.

He had a tall and commanding figure—not a magnetic, but a pleasing personality. He was a man of conservative temperament, considerate judgment and affable manners.

He had a strong intellectual endowment, clear conceptions, and great powers of logic and analysis. His voice was agreeable and his speech easy and fluent. His arguments were plain, direct and convincing. He commanded attention and easily held it. No one could remain within the sound of his voice while he was speaking, no matter what his subject, without following his remarks.

He, too, was a self-made man. He was of the plain people and always had their sympathy and support. He was born poor, but had a sound constitution and was proud to earn his own living. He commenced as a rodman in an engineering corps, but he advanced rapidly. He acquired a good education, read law, was admitted to the bar and finally entered public life in 1854 as a Member of the Thirty-fourth Congress, admirably equipped for the great work and the great career before him.

The slavery question in general, and the Kansas-Nebraska question in particular, then held public attention. From the first he took and held high rank as a leader and a debater.

When the war came he was thoroughly prepared for his part.

Entering the Senate on the 4th of March, 1861, he carried with him from the House an experience and a prestige that gave him rightfully a place in the front rank of his colleagues.

It is impossible and unnecessary to relate here his services during the thirty-six years that followed until the 4th of March, 1897, when he resigned his seat at the request of President McKinley to accept the office of Secretary of State. They are so interwoven with the history of our country for that period that all are familiar with them.

It is enough to say that to him more than to any other man the American people are indebted for the sound currency, the safe and adequate banking facilities, and the general improvement of our fiscal system by the adoption and development of those economic policies, under which our country has so developed and prospered.

His most pronounced triumph was in connection with the resumption of specie payments in 1879, but his services in that respect were only in keeping with his record throughout. He was given special credit in that instance, not because his labors in that particular were exceptional, but because they were practical and apparent. While he will be most remembered for his services in connection with the finances of the country, yet they were only a part of his work.

In the troublesome and trying days of reconstruction he was untiring.

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Pacific Railroads and the Judiciary, he was constantly engaged in the consideration of grave questions and great measures.

Many statutes bear testimony to his far-sighted wisdom as a legislator. One of the most important was one of the latest.

It shows how clearly he understood the progress of changing conditions and legislative remedy to apply to correct apprehended evils and abuses.

He was among the first to see the enormous combinations of capital we have been witnessing and the temptation there would be to unreasonable restraint and monopoly, and before others realized the danger or comprehended that any legislation was necessary or even appropriate, he had secured the enactment of what the whole country has recently become familiar with as the Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890.

He gave himself up wholly and devotedly to his work, so much so that he probably did himself an injustice by the consequent neglect thereby occasioned, to some extent at least, of social duties and relations.

He was for years, without regard to his own desires in the matter, considered a leading candidate for the Presidency. His name was repeatedly presented to National Conventions for the nomination. That honor was denied him, but there never was a time when the whole country did not feel that he was well equipped and well entitled to hold that high office. He will rank in history with Webster, Clay and Blaine.

Senator Hanna's First Election to the Senate.

In the first and second editions of these Notes I said nothing about the first election of Senator Hanna to the Senate. This was such an important event in Ohio politics and was productive of so much bitterness of feeling that some of my readers have expressed surprise that I should have passed it over in silence. In view of what has been said I think I should repeat here that I had personally nothing whatever to do with that contest, and it was for that reason I said nothing whatever about it in the original text.

That I took no part and the reasons therefor were stated over and over again at the time, but in view of the indistinct recollection of some who have seen fit to speak about the subject I take advantage of this opportunity to incorporate here as covering the whole matter one of the many letters I received, and one of the many answers I made, all of the same general character:

Fifth Avenue Hotel,
Madison Square, New York.

December 26, 1897.

My Dear Senator:—It has been on my mind for a month to write you, but have hesitated in my purpose till now.

To a certain extent I am responsible for your entrance into public life, and to a large extent on the occasion when you first appeared in our State politics. I have always believed that you had "the stuff" in you to achieve a brilliant career. We have not always trained together, but I have always entertained for you feelings of the highest regard and much hope for your success in public life. I do hope that you will not do, or omit to do anything that will in the least interfere with your success.

During the campaign you did your whole duty, and to your eloquent and fervid appeals to your friends is due the small Republican majority we have in the General Assembly. So far as I have observed, your public utterances since the election seem to indicate that you think that you have done your whole duty by Mr. Hanna, and that now you will have nothing further to do in aiding him to secure his election; that this matter has assumed the form of a quarrel between some of your friends and him—a condition in which you are not called upon to interfere. This position is, as I see it, a very unsafe one for you to assume. It matters not how you may feel, the public will hold you *responsible* for his defeat. This, believe me, is a condition you can not escape if your attitude towards him is continued until his defeat is accomplished. My opinion is that, when the time comes for action, no Republican member will vote against him.

However, I saw him in Cleveland, and I know he is in grave doubt as to the outcome.

His defeat, I need not repeat, means the disruption and destruction of the party. It means your retirement with many good people, believing that you failed to do your duty at a critical hour. I care not for Hanna. If his defeat alone was involved. I am retired, and have no interest of a personal nature, but I care as a citizen for the success of the Republican Party, and personally I do care for you. You have the talents and position, which, if rightly handled, will give you years of your present tenure, and enable you, as I believe you can, to achieve a more successful career than has hitherto been your lot. I want you to feel that nothing but the sincere friendship I have for you and the grave fears I entertain as to the results of non-action in this crisis will have upon you, could induce me to write you such a letter as this.

I think I know something of the grievances that Bushnell, Kurtz and other friends have towards Hanna. His treatment of them (some of them at least) has been little less than brutal. You chose to overlook this during the campaign. As your friend I was proud of you. You showed a manliness that overlooked personal grievances, and you stood for what was higher and better—the success of the party. It seems to me that the same obligations rest upon you now.

I talked this all over with Senator Platt, who believes you can not afford to pursue your course of non-action.

I trust, my dear friend, that you will receive this in the spirit in which it is written.

I have written wholly and entirely upon my own judgment, and shall not say anything to others about it.

Sincerely hoping that whatever you may do will redound to the good of the party and to your personal advancement, I am

Your friend, (Signed) CHARLES FOSTER.

HON. J. B. FORAKER.

I answered him as follows:

CINCINNATI, OHIO, December 28, 1897.

HON. CHARLES FOSTER, Fostoria, Ohio.

My Dear Governor:—I write to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, written at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, and to thank you most sincerely and cordially for the friendship it manifests and the suggestions it contains. I recognize that I am in a very embarrassing situation. At the same time, I think there is only one course for me to pursue. So long as it was a fight against the Democrats for the Legislature, I did cheerfully, and with all my heart all that it was in my power to do to win success. There was no sacrifice necessary that was not made without hesitation. All the while that contest was in progress I had no other idea than that if we won the day Senator Hanna would be the beneficiary, so that I supposed that I was not only working for the party, but also for him in all I did during the campaign. When the election was over we had an unforeseen condition. I did not for some time think there would be any opposition, and yet all the while I knew that provocation had been given therefor, and that opposition was not only possible, but quite probable. I foresaw that if opposition would be made it would lead to a fight that was confined to Republicans, and that many of my warmest political friends would be opposed to Mr. Hanna. It seemed to me, in view of this situation, that there were two good reasons why I should not take any part in the contest. In the first place, I did not think, and do not now think, that it would be in keeping with the dignity of the office I hold for me to take any part in a contest among Republicans as to what Republican should be my Republican colleague. This without regard to either political friends or enemies. I do not think anybody would expect Mr. Sherman under like circumstances to take any part in such a fight. All would agree that it would be indelicate, inappropriate and entirely unlike him. I do not see why any other rule should be applied to me. If, therefore, no other reason existed I should keep out of it. But I have a right to consider who the parties are to a contest between Republicans. That is every man's privilege, and it is stating the case very mildly for me to say that Senator Hanna has no right to expect me to antagonize my political friends of a lifetime in his behalf; especially not when the opposition to him is in consequence of the fact (to quote your own language) that "his treatment of them (some of them at least) has been little less than brutal." I do not care to go into the details of this mistreatment. You know enough of the character of it to know that but few men would have "put their hands on their mouths and their mouths in the dust," as Bushnell and others did during the campaign, pocketing offenses that were needless and humiliating only because we were in the presence of the common enemy. The truth is, all the opposition that is manifested to Senator Hanna is of his own making, and the case has reached that point where no individual can control it, but only circumstances. Governor Bushnell and Mr. Kurtz, I need not say to you, are men of the highest character. They are sensitively honorable, and it can not be expected that they will allow Mr. Hanna, or anybody else, to give them such offense, as you refer to in your letter, without resenting it if they have a chance to do so, and I know

that there is such acute and intense feeling on this subject that nothing that I would say, or that anybody else would say, would cause them to alter their purpose with respect to Mr. Hanna, except only what Mr. Hanna himself might say to them. No more generous man ever lived than is Governor Bushnell, and no man who would more quickly receive an apology and act upon it. If Senator Hanna would go to him and Mr. Kurtz, he no doubt could allay all trouble. I told several of his friends, who spoke to me on the subject, that Senator Hanna ought to see these men and have a conference with them; that if he had not intended to offend them he could easily square accounts by a frank and manly talk. If he had intended offense, of course the case would be different, and the consequence would have to follow. It is sufficient to say that he did not see fit to act upon any such advice and suggestion, and it is sufficient for me to say that I will not any longer run around with ointment, liniment, salve and bandages and heal up bruises and gashes and cuts and slashes that have been made not only unnecessarily, but which are a gross breach and violation in themselves of all the agreements and conditions that have obtained in Ohio politics during the last five or six years; at least I shall not feel called upon to do any such thing so long as Mr. Hanna seems unwilling to do what I think in justice and fair dealing he ought to do in the premises.

So far as Mr. Hanna and myself are concerned, we get along well enough, and there are some important reasons why I would rather have him for a colleague than anybody else; but I do not prefer him at the expense of my friends, and if for me to stay out of this fight, as I have done and propose to do, means my retirement four years from now, so let it be. But the people who are making proclamation of this program are handling a very dangerous subject. It is full of dynamite, and they should have a care else the explosion may come prematurely. It will be exceedingly important that they cut the time fuse exactly right. The elections of 1898, 1899 and particularly the election of 1900 all come before the elections of 1901.

I have written you confidentially, of course, and so hurriedly that probably I have not done myself justice, but thanking you again for the kindness you have manifested, and assuring you of my full appreciation for the same, and hoping that you will understand and appreciate all that is in my mind, I am

Hastily but very truly yours, etc.,

J. B. Foraker.